LIFE AND LETTERS
OF
SIR JADUNATH SARKAR

EDITED BY
H. R. GUPTA

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012.5
G.93.

1958
PANJAB UNIVERSITY
(INDIA)

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SIR JADUNATH SARKAR
COMMEMORATION VOLUME

CHECK 1973

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Life and Letters of Sir Jadunath Sarkar

डाक नवीनीकरण १९८४-१९८५

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पुस्तक सं०
आगत सं०
तिथि०
गुरुकुल ग्रन्थालय काँगड़ी

The study of our country's history leads irresistibly to the conclusion that we must embrace the spirit of progress with a full and unquestioning faith......We must not forget that modern Indian civilization is a composite daily growing product.

In God's universe no good thing, no honest work is ever lost. The sound seed will bear fruit, it may be a hundred years afterwards.

—JADUNATH SARKAR
[*in India through the Ages*]

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LIFE & LETTERS
OF
SIR JADUNATH SARKAR

[*The doyen of Indian historians, an honorary D. Litt., C. I. E. and Knight, the Campbell Gold Medalist of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay, and of Bengal, and the only Asian historian to have the unique distinction of being an (i) Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, (ii) Corresponding Member of the Royal Historical Society of England, and (iii) Honorary Member of the American Historical Association of Washington.*]

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EDITED BY

HARI RAM GUPTA
M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.
Professor & Head of the Department of History

PANJAB UNIVERSITY
HOSHIARPUR (India)
1957

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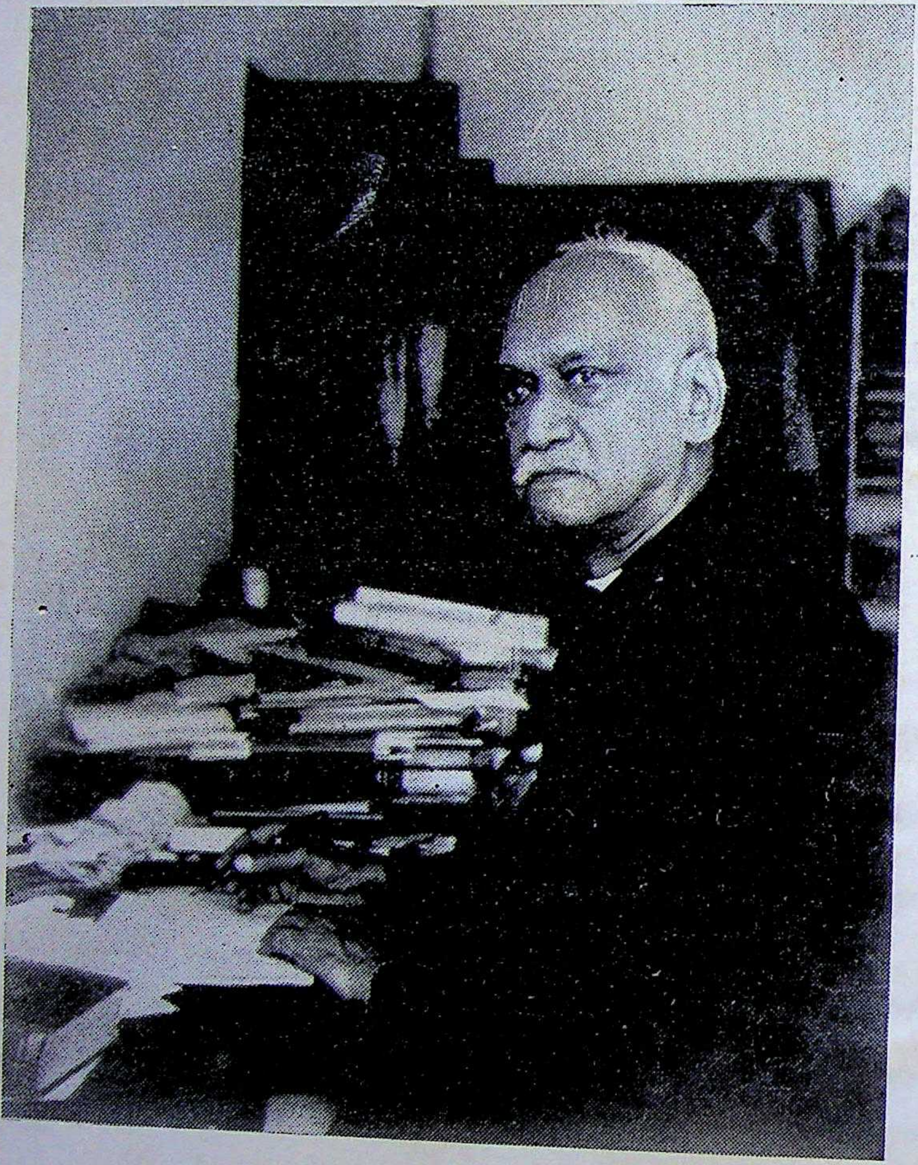

Jadunath Sarkar, 1954.

Message of Sir Jadunath Sarkar to Indian Historians

TIME has now brought me to the brink of the great Ocean of Eternity, and as I look back I take the opportunity of this book to bid farewell to my friends and pupils, with gratitude for the love and kindness with which they have enriched an unusually long life.

My message to my pupils and my pupils' pupils is one of hope. I bid them be of good cheer, because the opportunities for carrying on scientific research in Indian history on the Indian soil are now unimaginably great, and the right atmosphere for this type of work has also been created around us. When I first set my hand to the plough in 1891, research (except in Sanskrit) meant only the pirating or translation of modern English or French books, and we had no other resources.

But today no genuine worker on Indian history is content unless he has mastered the language of the *original* authorities and can utilise the original records, despatches, state papers and inscriptions, which are the primary indispensable sources.

In addition to the collections of the necessary materials in our older University libraries and Record Offices, a very rich library of sources has been created at Sitamau (Malwa) by its enlightened prince, Maharaj Kumar Dr. Raghuvir Sinh, D. Litt., LL.B., where mediaeval and modern Indian History is fully represented in the form of mss., books, and micro-films of the treasures of the British Museum and the I. O. Library (London), besides costly reference works. Scholars can freely use them.

Work in the right way, for the means are ready to hand, and the reward sure.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

10 LAKE TERRACE,
CALCUTTA 29,
20th April 1957.

Preface

IN April 1954 I received a letter from Sir Jadunath Sarkar saying that he was coming to Delhi and would be glad to receive me if I were there. A meeting with the doyen of Indian Historians is always a matter of pride and privilege. Besides I was anxious to discuss with him the desirability of presenting a Commemoration Volume to him. I therefore immediately resolved to avail myself of this opportunity to achieve this object.

I left Hoshiarpur on the day Sir Jadunath was to reach Delhi and called on him the following morning at the Constitution House where he was staying with Dr. Raghuvir Sinh, M.P., of Sitamau. After the usual preliminaries I broached the subject of the Commemoration Volume and requested him to condescend to accept it.

"No", was the emphatic reply. "Such proposals have been made in the past and I have ignored all these. I do not want it." I tried to argue, but to no purpose. I left him saying that I would come to pay my respects again.

From there I made straight for the residence of Dewan Anand Kumar, our Vice-Chancellor who is well known for magnanimity and liberality. He greatly appreciated the idea of presenting a Commemoration Volume to the greatest historian of India, and kindly agreed to provide me with necessary funds for this purpose.

The following morning I again waited on Sir Jadunath and began to talk to him about the Commemoration Volume. In a stern voice he told me to leave him alone, and not to bother him any more on that nasty subject. I persisted, and he asked me to retire into the Maharaj Kumar's room where he would discuss the matter in the presence of Kumar Sahib and Dr. N. B. Roy of Shantiniketan who had escorted Sir Jadunath from Calcutta.

As he came in, I began my argument over again. I was entitled as a student of history, I said, to know the reasons for his refusal.

"I do not want any publicity, and shun the very idea of any money being raised for me."

"If the Panjab University undertakes the preparation of this volume, and no money is collected in the form of donations" ?

"Who is your Vice-Chancellor" ?

"Dewan Anand Kumar, son of the late Raja Narendra Nath."

"I know him. I was their guest at Lahore in 1937. He may find money for such a work."

"He has already agreed to finance the project."

"Then I shall have no objection to your proposal."

I felt a thrill passing through me as I heard these words.

Earlier in the year I had undertaken to edit on behalf of the Panjab University a volume of Panjab News-letters of 1844 and had obtained funds for its publication in that year's budget. This work, therefore, was to be finished before taking up the Commemoration Volume. Yet I issued an appeal for papers and other material in July 1954 to scholars both in India and abroad, and found an encouraging response. In addition to my heavy official duties I could not carry on both the projects simultaneously with equal attention. I devoted major portion of my spare time to the News-letters published in March 1956 under the title *Panjab On the Eve of First Sikh War*.

This accounts for the publication of the Commemoration Volumes two years later, and I crave indulgence of those to whom the delay has caused inconvenience.

The present work has a few peculiar features of interest. The first volume contains a personal memoir of Sir Jadunath by Dr. G. S. Sardesai who has been in close contact with him since 1904. There is an excellent biographical sketch and a critical appreciation of Sir Jadunath as a historian by his oldest research pupil Dr. K. R. Qanungo. Half a dozen reminiscences by some of his pupils and friends give us glimpses into the character of the great historian. An exhaustive bibliography of his works, articles, etc. is a valuable contribution by two of his pubils. Its most striking characteristic, perhaps, is Section II, which contains selections from fifty years' correspondence that passed between Sir Jadunath and Dr. Sardesai, two lifelong, intimate friends, one living on the shores of the Bay of Bengal and the other on the coast of the Arabian Sea.

The second volume consists exclusively of research papers and articles by his pupils, friends and admirers both in India and abroad to express their appreciation for what he gave them individually as students and what he did for the systematic research in Indian history and especially on Mughal and Maratha periods.

I had the audacity later on to enquire from Sir Jadunath if he would kindly give me necessary instructions for the preparation of the Commemoration Volume. He politely declined to attend to any query on the subject, except giving me a piece of advice: "Please spare my feelings, by cutting out of the book all hyperbolic praise of my work." I have tried as far as possible to meet his wishes, and have on many occasions trimmed the phrases and expressions used by contributors.

In memoirs and reviews I have taken the liberty (with apologies to their writers) to recast them so as to keep the account mainly confined to Jadunath, and in doing so the original spellings of some proper nouns have been modernized.

It is my most pleasant duty to express my deep gratitude to Dewan Anand Kumar for his unfailing support. I must thank the learned contributors for their papers and articles. I acknowledge my indebtedness to my beloved pupils, Shri Brijinder Goswamy, M. A., I. A. S., and Shri Bakhtawar Singh, M.A., both of whom took great pains over the Correspondence portion of this volume. The latter assisted me in reading the proofs also.

HOSHIARPUR,
10 May, 1957

H. R. G.

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SECTION I.

Memoirs, Reviews & Bibliography

Introduction

(A)

The editing of this volume in honour of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the renowned Indian historian, has been a pleasant though an exacting job. A Gooch or a Trevelyan would have been much better fitted to appreciate this great historian's contribution to the medieval history of India. It is a hard task to make an assessment of the circumstances that have gone to make Jadunath Sarkar what he is. Both heredity and environment have played their part in shaping Jadunath's personality.

Jadunath was born on 10 December 1870 in a rich and highly-cultivated Bengali Kayastha family. Among the Hindus, the Kayasthas have a long tradition of meritorious and distinguished civil service in the Muslim courts, particularly at Delhi. They made their mark not only in the field of administration, but also in the realm of letters. This caste has the unique privilege of having produced a large number of historians and scholars well-versed in Persian and Urdu literature.

The Kayasthas are well-known for their intelligence, shrewdness and wisdom. A popular Indian legend credits a Kayastha with having solved the problem of a devotee who had to choose between the mutually conflicting desires of his family, when his favourite goddess had granted him leave to ask a boon of her. The mother wanted her eyesight to be restored, the father enough riches to make them lead an easy life, and the wife a child for their childless home. The Kayastha whom the devotee met advised him to ask the goddess to grant that his mother might see her grandchild drinking milk out of a bowl of gold.

Raj Kumar Sarkar, his father, passed his Entrance (Matriculation) Examination in 1857, the year in which Calcutta University was founded.[1] The untimely death of his father made young Raj Kumar abandon his studies in order to look after the ancestral property. Raj Kumar prepared his frail frame to cope with the onerous task, and with sheer grit, was able to prevent complete chaos inundating the family fortunes. Having achieved with honest labour and force of character what his raw youth could afford, Raj Kumar settled down to a happy married life. He was devoted to public service and died at the ripe age of seventy-four on

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[1] The centenary of this University has been celebrated in January this year,

18 July 1914. He was keenly interested in the study of history, and this trait was inherited by Jadunath.

Raj Kumar was survived by a large family consisting of a wife and nine children, one daughter, the eldest, having predeceased him. Hari Sundari, his wife, survived him by a full quarter of a century, and died at the age of ninety-four on 18 September 1939 at Rajshahi. From the seven brilliant sons and three happily placed daughters she bore, she was rightly called *Ratnagarbha*, the 'jewel-wombed'.[1] As a family the Sarkars are long-lived, prolific and free from ostentation. Jadunath is true to the family tradition in all these respects. He is still vigorous at the age of eighty-seven[2] and normally works harder than the average present day youths and had ten children.

Brought up in his early years in the plain and peaceful rural surroundings, Jadunath had his early schooling, at the village school in the vernacular course. At the age of seven he joined the collegiate school at Rajshahi. After a year or so the venue of his studies again changed and he went to Calcutta with his elder brother. Two years later, the year 1881 again found him at the Rajshahi High School. In 1887 he passed his Matriculation Examination securing a high position and a first grade scholarship. His innate ability had thus started emitting its radiance. In 1889 he passed the Intermediate Examination with a first grade scholarship. He took his B. A. Degree in 1891 with honours in two subjects. In December 1892 he took his Master's Degree

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[1] Kumud Nath Sarkar, B.A., B.L. (1860-1930), the eldest son of Raj Kumar and Hari Sundari, practised as a lawyer at Rajshahi. He had earned a lucrative practice and had built up a thriving business in ballast stone and coal before he died. Shashi Shekhar Sarkar, the second son (1864-1952), was receiving his education when he sustained a severe injury by a fall from a tree, which affected his brain, and he remained for the rest of his life an invalid. Jadunath is the third son. Anandi Nath, B.A., B.L. (1881-1955) retired as a pleader in the small cause court of Calcutta. His scholarship in English literature made him highly respected at the Bar and the Bench. Bijaynath, B.A. (Hons.), C.E. (Roorkee), long served as an Executive Engineer in the P.W.D. in Madhya Pradesh and is now a pensioner. Travel, archaeology and history are his interests which make him look closer to Jadunath than any one else in the family. Birendranath, the fifth son (1883-1954) served his full term as a Professor of Physics at the Krishnanath (Berhampur) College. Akhilnath, M.B., the youngest (1886-1951), was a Professor of midwifery at the Patna Medical College. He became a Rai Bahadur and G.O.M. Besides these the three sisters of the family are Sushila, Sukumari and Surabala.

[2] May God bless him with many more years !

”تم سلامت رھو ھزار برس
ھر برس کے ھوں دن پچاس ھزار“

Mirza Ghalib

in English Literature standing first in the University, and securing above ninety per cent. marks in the aggregate.

He then started preparing for the Premchand Roychand Scholarship and simultaneously served as a lecturer in English at a local college. As a P. R. S. he entered the Government service in 1898, and was transferred next year to Patna, where he remained employed for a long period with two short breaks only. In 1919 he was posted at Cuttack as Professor of History. Soon Jadunath's reputation as a historian attracted the attention of the Government, and he was promoted to the Imperial Education Service. He retired at Patna in 1926. Then came the final exaltation in his professional career and he was appointed the Honorary Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University.[1] As Vice-Chancellor Jadunath tried to clean the Augean stables with Herculean efforts, and to improve the standards of discipline and work in the University. He declined the offer to continue in that office after 1928.[2]

Since August 1928 Jadunath has been free, not from work, but from service. Hard work is a religion with Jadunath. It is the moving force of his life, the food on which he lives. Jadunath writes: "Europe is advancing every month nay every day, in arts and arms, in industry and technique, in range of thought and the conquest of nature. But India has been standing still, glorying in the 'wisdom of our ancestors,' or at best borrowing thoughts and material products from Europe at second hand. Hence we are always panting far behind Europe like coolies carrying the baggage of a civilised army and straggling in the rear. Continual progression is the rule of Europe. Her civilisation is never stationary, she is constantly moving from more to more, from new to newer things. This is the result of the labour of an army of her best intellects, carrying on to higher and higher stages the gains of their predecessors, by working without cessation, without a break."[1] His capacity for serious hard work so advantageously manifested in his preparation for the Scholarship, has ever been on the increase in the years of perfect health and vigour. He never allows himself needless rest, he simply cannot. He has often worked days and nights together when his duties obliged him to do so. Like many other hard workers he is at his best in times of greatest pressure displaying apparently an insatiable appetite for work.

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[1] Jadunath Sarkar wrote to G S. Sardesai dated at Darjeeling, 20 June 1926: "But all my plans have been upset by the Bengal Government appointing me Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University for two years from 24th August 1926. It is a purely honorary post, and I shall lose Rs. 6,000 in the course of the next five months, by having to go to Calcutta in August next. In addition, life at Calcutta will cost me an additional expenditure of Rs. 12,000 during the two years of my term as V. C. And I shall have to bid good bye to historical research during that period instead of being able to devote all my time, as a pensioner, to my literary work.

"But I have accepted the post in the sole hope of serving my countrymen by reforming the Calcutta University. God only knows whether I shall succeed..."

[2] Jadunath wrote to Sardesai dated at Calcutta, 4 August 1928: "Hurrah! I am a free man again, and feel cheerful like a bird escaped from its cage. My term expires on the 7th instant and I have declined, on grounds of health, to accept another term. My successor (Dr. W. S. Urquhart, Principal of the Scottish Mission College) has been appointed."

This hard work he undertakes because of his passion for learning. His is a mind perpetually thirsting for more and more knowledge, craving for an endless furtherance of learning. Ever on the quest for even the smallest bit of information, and garnering it safely and carefully in the fathomless depths of his elastic mind, Jadunath is all that a true and genuine student should be. The passion for learning that he harbours in his old frame is by no means selfish. He is on the contrary always on the lookout for opportunities to add to the existing treasure of knowledge in the world. Even if he needs only a small bit of information out of a manuscript that has fallen into his hands, he would translate the whole of it and publish it for common use. The Library that he has built up after decades of continuously patient efforts is no doubt a tribute to his own personal love of knowledge ; it also vividly mirrors a personality that is keen on lighting more lamps in other shrines. It was under his inspiration that Maharaj Kumar Raghubir Sinh of Sitamau spent almost his entire fortune on collecting rare books and manuscripts on Indo-Muslim history and thus setting up a splendid research library at Sitamau.

Jadunath is reserved by nature. No one can fail to notice this quality, it may be at the first meeting or after lifelong contacts. He is straightforward and businesslike in his social dealings. You may spend months on end working in his library, and may not be so fortunate as to talk to him for as many hours.

I met Sir Jadunath for the first time in Darjeeling in 1935. When my arrival at his house was announced, he immediately appeared in a small room adjoining his study and said, "You are Hari Ram Gupta from Lahore ? Here is *Miskin* you wanted. This is the chair and the table for you to work at. While going away in the evening leave a slip on this table mentioning the manuscripts and books you require for the following day, and they will be placed here before you come." He then asked me if I wanted a cup of tea in the afternoon and on my respectfully declining the offer he at once retired into his study room and closed the door. During my one month's stay there the total time of my conversation with him did not exceed an hour.

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[1] *What Colleges India Needs, 1.*

Afterwards I met Sir Jadunath at Kamshet Seminar which lasted for a week, and also at some of the annual sessions of the Indian Historical Records Commission. My second visit to his house was at Calcutta in 1945. On the way I had purchased a basket of mangoes for presentation to him as a representative seasonal fruit of the North. Reaching his place I put the basket outside the gate and rang the bell. A servant came to enquire and then informed Sir Jadunath of my arrival. In a minute Sir Jadunath was down with a number of manuscripts under his arm, for which I had written to him. He pointed at a table and a chair in a room adjoining his kitchen (where the strong smell of the roasted fish daily pestered me), put the manuscripts on the table, gave me instruction for leaving a slip bearing my requirements for the next day, and after enquiring whether I would like to have a cup of tea in the afternoon he immediately retired to the first floor. All this had hardly taken half a minute.

But the basket of mangoes created a problem for me. I called the servant and instructed him to deliver the basket to Sir Jadunath. Instantaneously Sir Jadunath could be seen rushing down the stairs followed by his servant with the basket. In a furious rage he ordered me to quit his house with the basket at once.

I was stunned. Without a word I put the basket under my arm, begged his pardon for offending him, and slipped out of the house. I had hardly gone a few paces on the road outside, when he shouted after me to return. He told me in emphatic terms that nobody ever dared bring anything to his house as a present. Dr. Qanungo, he said, had stayed in his house as a member of the family for years together, never having dared to bring anything as a gift. He gave me a stern warning never to misbehave again.[1] I worked in his library for nearly two months, without

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[1] Sardesai probably for the first time sent Sarkar some presents, fearing at the same time that Jadunath might feel annoyed. The apologetic nature of the letter leads us to draw this conclusion. He wrote : "You must not think ill of me for sending you a parcel of fruit jams, prepared in Poona and I liked them very much, particularly the mango. Mrs. Sardesai thought of some *Sankrant-til-gur* being sent you. I did not wish to be formal.... I am not sure that Calcutta has not similar stuff to offer. However, they go from a fullsome heart and you must accept them as such." (Sardesai to Sarkar, dated at Kamshet, 22. 1. 1938.)

Sarkar's reply does not show any annoyance but it certainly betrays his feeling about talking to him in all for an hour or so. These two incidents out of many might show that Sir Jadunath is laconic and sensitive almost annoyingly.

Jadunath takes life very seriously. Everything he does, he does so earnestly that even the spending of a minute on light purposeless talk would appear to him as a criminal waste[1]. As the seniormost member of the Indian Historical Records Commission, he visited almost all the capital towns of British India as well as Indian States. On reaching his destination he would immediately throw himself into the work he had to do without wasting a moment on superfluities. "There is no person in the world," it was once said, "who understands the value of time better than Napoleon". Jadunath in the value that he places upon this fleeting factor in the life of man is almost Napoleonic.

Jadunath is thorough through and through. He keeps a regular account of his daily household expenditure. He prepares an itinerary of a proposed journey months before. Everyone who is entrusted with the execution of some work receives full and clear instructions. Not to speak of servants or young scholars, even his senior G. S. Sardesai received the following instructions with a packet of Darjeeling tea : "Take the kettle of boiling water down from the fire, pour into it one teaspoonful of tea leaves for every person, with one spoonful extra, keep the kettle carefully closed for full six minutes".

Another dominant trait of his character is simplicity. As a matter of fact simplicity may be described as the keynote of his character. He is simple in his habits, simple in his language, almost incredibly simple in everything about him. For a man whom nothing has been denied in life, this simplicity is almost sublime. He

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the money wastage : 'Received your parcel of jams, on the six small bottles of which you have spent Rs. 3 in railway freight alone,—which works out at 8 annas per bottle ! We make quite good guava, pineapple and orange jellies in our house at Darjiling, and gooseberry jams here. Mango jelley too, but not so good as the one you have sent. I wonder how they can make it without using any preservative, as their chemical analyst asserts.

"Will you kindly learn from Mrs. Patil how she makes her olive preserves,—i.e. (a) the liquid in which the fruits are steeped and (b) the name of the red substance she inserts at their core after removing the seeds ?" (Sarkar to Sardesai, dated at Calcutta, 29. 1. 1938.)

[1] Jadunath is, however, not without a sense of humour. In 1936 the Dacca University conferred the Honorary Degree of D.Litt. on Sir Jadunath. This was the first Doctorate he had received. Sardesai wrote to him : "Some one told me you have received D. Litt. from Dacca University. Is it a fact ? I congratulate you." Quick came the reply : "Yes, I am now a doctor, but I like to place after my title, Hom. within brackets, i.e. Homeopathic, instead of the usual Hon." (Sarkar-Sardesai Correspondence, dated 22. 8 1936 and 27. 8. 1936).

can be as comfortable and contented in a poor man's hut as in the palatial guest houses of the old Indian princes. He does not smoke, he does not drink, he does not chew betel-leaf, he even does not crave for tea. He has no costly hobbies except buying rare books and manuscripts, and needs hardly anything else but two plain ordinary Bengali meals a day. He sits and studies on a wooden bed with a small pillow to support him. He has no almirahs for his books, etc. which lie piled up on open iron shelves going up to the ceiling. For convenience a bamboo ladder is always in the room.

Perhaps his simplicity is at its best when we come to his modesty about himself. He never writes for popular applause. His aversion for publicity is instinctive and deep-seated. Inclined to avoid society and to shun limelight, Jadunath carries himself with an unspeakably charming reserve and plainness.

One more peculiarity of Jadunath is frugality in personal expenditure. He hates waste either in his own home or in public office. You will get back your visiting card after the interview. He uses a post card if it can contain what he wants to say. All his letters are written on plain small-sized sheets. His valuable notes and translations of rare manuscripts are written on short slips which lie tied up in bundles in his library. The water taps in his house cannot be kept open unnecessarily. At meal times a full glass of water cannot be placed before him, his need being only two thirds of a tumbler. "Waste not and want not" is his motto.

This frugality has helped him considerably in discharging his heavy family responsibilities. Life has given him many an uncomfortable hour. Bringing up a large family, educating his children and grandchildren and the marrying of the daughters and granddaughters have engaged him during all these years. Towards the evening of his life came several misfortunes. One of his sons-in-law died young leaving behind a widow and seven daughters to be looked after by Jadunath. His youngest son-in-law perished in the last war at Singapore. His eldest son was stabbed to death in the communal riots at Calcutta. His second son died recently. His youngest daughter, the pet of the family, died while a student in London, and his wife became invalid long ago. All these misfortunes he has borne with stoic fortitude, and has not allowed his literary work to suffer on their account.[1]

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[1] On 4 July 19.7 dated at Calcutta Jadunath wrote a letter to Sardesai about his troubles. This is perhaps the only letter referring to his domestic worries :—

"Dear Nana, I have now begun writing letters again and also taken up my suspended

Regularity and punctuality are other characteristics of his life. In 1935 at Darjeeling I daily found him at work before 6 A.M. He would retire for lunch at twelve. At 1. 30 P.M. he was seen strolling in the spacious compound of his house. At 2 P M. he was again at his desk. A bare cup of tea was served to him at 4. 30 P.M. in his study room when he might spare a couple of minutes for conversation with a

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literary work. What robs me of my peace of mind is not grief for loss—which religion or resignation to fate can enable a man to bear,—but the worry of having to manage the affairs of those who should, in the normal course of nature, have looked after me in my old age, but have gone away so early and left on my shoulders the burden of settling their property troubles, educating their sons, and marrying their orphan daughters. Two widowed daughters and one widowed daughter-in-law are now sheltered in my house, and unless I can enjoy ten years more of life and health, how can I set on their feet Abani's sons now aged 16 and 14, or Sudhā's sons, aged 15, 13 and 11 or provide husbands for Priyambada's seven daughters all of whom have been orphaned when maidens ? Satyen (my second son) is now in a broken down condition and cannot be expected to lead a robust helpful life for 10 or 12 years more. Both my eldest son-in-law and Abani died in their 51st years, and Major Sushil Ghose was ten years younger still.

"Lady Sarkar has been living a tortured existence owing to her ever-present and daily increasing rheumatic pain and swelling of the knees. No medicine can cure her. I am quite well and have borne the present abnormally rainless summer surprisingly well.

"I have today started revising my English *Shivaji* for the 4th edn. In a few days I shall return you remaining chapters (vol III.) as revised by me. I find among my papers your suggestions for improving my *Shivaji*, starting from a page marked 5 and referring to my book p. 20, line 8, and going on to the end. Did you send any comments on this book pp. 1-19 and I have mislaid or lost them (your pp. 1-4) ? Not likely. Please look into your drafts.

"Kindly send me Shejwalkar's paper on the Marathas in Bengal (*Deccan College Magazine*) on loan.

"It would have been a relief to my soul, and a long-needed physical change too, to have gone away from Calcutta. Now that I have ceased to be able to stand the rarefied air of Darjiling, I cannot imagine any place better suited for this purpose than Kamshet. Many pieces of work which we have contemplated so long, would have been pushed on to conclusion at Kamshet, in this probably our last meeting together in life. But I do not see how my big household can be run in my absence. There are daily decisions to be made on various household or property questions, servants are scarce and unreliable, the children's health and character need constant watching. I alone can control the household with dictatorial authority joined to patience, conciliation, and tactful diplomacy.

"Unless the new West Bengal Ministry can get a firm grip on the administration and life of the province when it is firmly in the saddle, there is no hope of the situation changing for the better. But even then the improvement can come not earlier than October, when I shall think of an excursion to Bombay according to the nature of the actual situation here at the time.

"Any news about (1) the Kotah daftar and (2) the remnant of the Menavali daftar concerning Mahadji Sindhia, will be welcome.

"Dhawale was written to for the remaining proof of your Vol. II. ; but has not responded. Let me finish the work of revision carried on as yet up to the end of ch. 20."

visitor or a research worker. He would leave off working at 6 P.M. when he went out all alone walking as if he were running. Having found no time to talk to him about my research project I asked for his permission to accompany him in his evening walks. "No", was the reply, "As a rule I prefer to be left alone during these walks. You may discuss your difficulties, if any, between 1.40 and 1.55 P.M." I could not watch his evening programme as I stayed in a hotel, but I know he then attended to his mail and domestic duties.

He is highly methodical. Everything belonging to him has its own place, and he can pick up his papers and books even in the dark with a blind man's instinct.

Jadunath's frankness sometimes borders on bluntness. His outspoken criticism has made him many enemies, and he has suffered much on that account. Once in a notable Indian University a Ph. D. thesis was prepared under the supervision of a renowned Professor personally known to Jadunath, who happened to be one of the examiners. Jadunath felt that the candidate had received no attention whatsoever from his supervisor. He wrote to the Vice-Chancellor of that University saying that the learned Professor had taken no interest in the work of the candidate who acted like a cow let loose in a green field, and said that the Professor should be warned. The Professor was disqualified from becoming a supervisor of a Ph. D. thesis for a number of years.

All the same Jadunath is exceedingly sympathetic to a really deserving cause. Sir Jadunath was one of my examiners for the Degree Ph.D. He was impressed with my thesis and strongly recommended its publication to the Lahore University. Finding the University's unwillingness, he, of his own free will and without any request from me, revised the copy of the thesis that had been sent by the University for evaluation, got it printed at Calcutta, reading all the proofs himself, and forwarded the printed copies to me at Lahore, later on charging me after great persuasion only the cost of paper and binding.[1]

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[1] There are a couple of references to this incident in Sarkar-Sardesai Correspondence. On 30 March 1939 Sarkar worte to Sardesai :— "I am supervising the printing of the doctorate theses of Hari Ram Gupta and Ashirbadilal Srivastava, which we had agreed to partly subsidise out of the Kamshet History Meet Special Fund, ... have cost me an enormous amount of time but happily my editing work is now nearly finished".

On 27 September 1939 he wrote again :—"Please send me Rs. 100/- from the Kamshet Week publication fund. I have already paid on this account nearly 500 Rs. (or 550).

Such is Jadunath, the man. There is nothing spectacular about him, and yet he is without question :

"Lordly, more than man." —*Campbell*

(B)

History was not the subject in which Jadunath had taken his Master's Degree. It was only in connection with the Premchand Roychand Scholarship that history came to the fore in Jadunath's educational career. His attempt for the scholarship is a definite milestone in his life. Not only did this mark him out as a scholar of extraordinary merit, but it also made him veer more and more towards history.

Jadunath had to work incredibly hard for the scholarship. Proficient in English and Sanskrit, he had now to learn Persian so as to be able to refer to original sources, the subject of his research being, the *Life and Times of Aurangzib*, and the study of Medieval India. For four years Jadunath worked incessantly. It was his lofty ambition, youthful energy, zeal and zest for life that sustained him in that period of stress and strain. After enormous labour he submitted his thesis on "*India of Aurangzib* : *Its Statistics, Topography and Roads*." He was so much fascinated with the study of his subject, that he now decided to write a complete history of that monarch. Much of the material that he had collected for this thesis could go into making the book on Aurangzeb, an authentic history of the man and his reign. This history he now began, and completed it in five volumes. This led him into the field of Maratha history as a good deal of material on Aurangzeb was available in Marathi. *Shivaji and his Times* was his first book on this subject.

Jadunath had to edit Irvine's *Later Mughals*. He collected a huge mass of material for this purpose, and in order to utilize it to the full he planned and later successfully executed his *Fall of the Mughal Empire* in four volumes. These volumes present in an admirable form the otherwise confused history of eighteenth century India.

His lesser known works on Indian History are also considerable in number. He has written *Anecdotes of Aurangzib*, while several useful papers have been collected under the title *Studies in Mughal India*. His Madras University Readership lectures summarize the important features of India's history as a whole and have been published under the title

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On account of Kamshet Week report, nearly	...	Rs. 50/-
Hari Ram Gupta's thesis subsidy	...	Rs. 250/-
Ashirbadi Lal's thesis subsidy	...	Rs. 250/-
		Rs. 550/- or so."

India through the Ages. He has edited and issued a correct translation of the great work on Akbar, the *Ain-e-Akbari* and of *Maasir-e-Alamgiri*, but the history of Aurangzeb by Ishwardas Nagar and other works translated by him are still unprinted. Only very recently the Bombay Government published his English translation of the Persian news-letters to Poona under the title, *The Delhi Affairs*, and *Mahadji Sindhia as Regent of Delhi.*

The by-products of his main subject of study are also equally remarkable. He has produced only recently the second volume of the Dacca University's monumental *History of Bengal. Chaitanya's Life and Teahings* by him is a great testimony to his versatility. He made significant contribution to the *Cambridge History of India* (Vol. IV) and published important papers in various learned magazines including a large number of articles on the military history of India published in the Sunday editions of the *Hindusthan Standard.*

Besides this he has delivered numerous lectures and addresses on topics of historical interest. For over twenty years he was the heart and soul of the Indian Historical Records Commission from its very birth. A large number of historical papers are submitted every year at the session of this Commission, and thus during these years Jadunath examined about five hundred papers submitted to the Commission by young and aspiring scholars from all over India. He has examined a large number of Doctorate theses from all Indian Universities. He has won an unrivalled reputation for impartiality and acumen in evaluating these dissertations.

Jadunath's books present delightful reading. His mastery of the English language places him at an advantage over the rank and file of Indian historians. Common sense though an uncommon quality, has fallen abundantly to the share of Jadunath. In his case scientific outlook and balanced judgment have combined with a rare mastery of details and thoroughness of approach to yield a rich harvest of works of enduring value.

Jadunath occupies a prominent position among the historians of India, nay of the world. Apart from many academic prizes and scholarships won by him including the coveted Premchand Roychand Scholarship and the Griffith Prize, the honours and distinctions received by Jadunath have been singular. The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland bestowed on him in 1923 its honorary membership which is confined to no more than thirty scholars of the whole world. Similarly the Royal Historical Society of England conferred on him a corresponding membership in 1935, which is restricted to thirty members or so. These Societies have a large number of paying members, but the honorary membership can go only to the most eminent foreign scholars. The Bombay Board of the Royal Asiatic Society awarded him the Campbell Gold Medal in 1926 and made him an honorary fellow. The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal also bestowed on him the same honour in 1926. The American Historical Association of Washington appointed him its honorary life member. He is the only Asian among the honoured foreign scholars of these societies. The Dacca University conferred on him the Honorary Degree of D. Litt. The Patna University also did the same. The British Government bestowed on him the title of C. I. E. in 1926, and the Knighthood in 1929.

What knowledge Jadunath possesses, he is ready to share with and impart to others. Students, teachers, lecturers, professors and writers, from all over the country approach him for advice and guidance, and he has never spared any labour in satisfying the need of these inquirers. Among his lasting achievements is the large number of distinguished pupils belonging to all parts of India. The training that he has imparted and the inspiration that he is still giving them must for ever remain a glowing tribute to his attainment.

Such is the mind of Jadunath, the Scholar and Historian, not exclusive but inclusive, not satiated but thirsting, not stagnant but ever-moving, not self-centred but self-sacrificing. Hindi speakers turn his name Yadunath into Jadunath which literally means "the master magician." What an insight the father had into the mind of the little baby when christening it with this name! No other name could have better described India's greatest historian :

> "And this grey spirit yearning in desire
> To follow knowledge like a sinking star."
>
> *Tennyson*

(C)

G. S. Sardesai, the greatest historian of Maharashtra, was introduced to Jadunath Sarkar in 1904 by Devdhar[1] of the Servants of India Society, Poona, only by name. Jadunath then a Lecturer in Patna College, Patna,

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[1] Devdhar died in November 1935. Sir Jadunath was deeply grieved on reading this news in the papers. On 19.11.1935 he wrote to Sardesai ;—

"I am deeply pained to read of Devdhar's death in today's papers. It was lucky that you took me to him during my last visit to Poona, otherwise I should have missed the opportunity of seeing him again in life. It is now 31 years since he introduced himself to me at Patna, and since then his career has appeared to me as the brightest and most hopeful example of what was busy in collecting material for his Life of Aurangzeb, and was on the lookout for somebody who could help him in guiding to the original Marathi sources. Similarly, Sardesai was planning his History of the Marathas, and was in search of a person who could lead him to Persian sources of the period. Thus Sarkar and Sardesai could fully answer each other's purpose. Jadunath took the initiative and wrote to Sardesai who seized the opportunity with equal enthusiasm. The correspondence thus begun has continued up to the present day with unabated zeal on both sides. Letters written by Jadunath prior to June 1907 and those written by Sardesai before February 1914 and also those written afterwards for about a decade seem to have been destroyed, but the later ones were preserved by both. Thus 625 letters of Jadunath and a little over 700 of Sardesai are available in these two collections. The whole mass of this correspondence consists almost exclusively of historical material, queries made by one and replies given by the other. Here and there are found brief references to matters of personal nature, about one's health and family affairs. Still briefer references are there to others either by way of appreciation or in the form of criticism.

"Not only for the interest of a biography," wrote Cardinal Newman, "but for arriving at the inside of things, the publication of letters is the true method." It is also true that one often learns more from the letters addressed to a person than from his own. It is for this reason that the editor chose to include selections from fifty years' Sarkar–Sardesai correspondence. This has a still greater importance of its own. For instance, this documents a constant intellectual pilgrimage of the two greatest historians of the Mughals and the Marathas. In the history of India this is the first time that two great historians in the same field collaborated so intensely and so well. The letters speak for themselves as a living day-to-day record of the impact of the two personalities upon each other and upon the development of study and research in the local history of various states especially during the Mughal-Maratha period. These letters show something of their inner life. The homely little touches give occasional glimpses of the real Sarkar and Sardesai. Sarkar is deeply religious in the modern sense of the word. He has a lofty ethical outlook, and is far more impressive, more true and more elevated

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modern education when grafted upon the old Maratha staunchness and simplicity of character can accomplish. What selfless public service, what constructive activity, he crowded into a life not longer than ours ! In the U.P. Famine of 1911 (?), North India came to know this silent worker. He put to shame all our vaunted political leaders and platform orators. When shall we see a worthy successor to him ?"

than any but the very best of writers of his time. Jadunath with his trained intellect offers the stern precept of duty as moral justice. He has no hostility to any sincere religion.

Jadunath's times have seen many an upheaval of the first magnitude. Many religious and social movements brought a glorious revolution in the Hindu society. The Indian National Congress saw its birth, growth and fruition. It had to contend against two mighty powers—the British Government over whose dominions the sun had never set, and the Muslim League which was striving to recover the lost Muslim power, and in this conflict thousands of men, women and children laid down their lives. Of the two World Wars the second was fought at India's door, and his city suffered from aerial raids a number of times. India's independence brought in its wake the destruction of lakhs of human beings, slavery of thousands of women and children, and the loss of incalculable property. These losses sustained in a few months perhaps exceeded the total losses in men and material borne in the eighteenth century during the twenty foreign invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali and his son Timur Shah and grandson Shah Zaman from 1739 to 1799, a detailed account of which is given by Jadunath in his *Fall of the Mughal Empire*.

The great historian, however, remains unaffected and unmoved in the midst of all these catastrophes. In all his correspondence there are only a couple of references to Mahatma Gandhi's Quit India Movement and the Second World War, of which the stern master did not approve simply because it put impediments between him and his work owing to the dislocation of economic life in Calcutta. Mahatma Gandhi is assassinated, but there is not a word in his letters about it. His own son is killed by ruffians in the communal riots at Calcutta, but there is only one short sentence in one letter alone about it and not a word occurs concerning the death of his favourite unmarried daughter in London except the effect produced by it on Lady Sarkar's delicate health of which he speaks in one or two letters to Sardesai. Can this devotion to Clio be surpassed ?

As compared with the steel frame of Jadunath, Sardesai is more human. He weeps and cries at the death of his only living child, a young lad studying in Germany. He speaks of him frequently, and tries to collect his letters from various persons with a view to publishing them, and Jadunath undertakes to write an introduction to this volume. Sardesai suffers terribly when his beloved wife parts company with him in 1943 when she was over seventy years old and Sardesai was seventy-eight.

Consider the duration, continuity and range of this correspondence, with enormous learning and a light touch, expressing firm convictions and containing the exploits of two self-reliant scholars in the field of historical study and research. Think of the situation of the two men who struck up at once this deep and lasting friendship. One is a Bengali and the other a Maharashtrian, having different traditions, speaking different mother tongues; one belonging to the most unorthodox of the Hindu castes and the other to a staunch Brahmin family; one a habitual meat-eater and the other a strict vegetarian[1]; one tall, dark, stern and rigid, the other short, fair, soft and charming; one immeasurably superior in intellect and the other eight years senior in age; and the distance of 1300 miles separating the two.

Sarkar and Sardesai are obviously men apart. Much about them was calculated to keep them apart from each other. But the factors of divergence were absorbed by the confluence of their feelings for each other and by the intensity and range of their intellectual interests. In the transformation of Sardesai into a great historian Sarkar had a major part. He helped him most by maintaining his self-confidence, which even at the zenith of his fame required constant support.[2] But it will be a mistake to believe that Sardesai's mind was deeply influenced by him. Every main feature was noticeable before they met, and they had too much respect for each other to desire uniformity of opinion.

Sarkar-Sardesai letters are not like those of Walpole or Chesterfield, well planned and carefully composed and perhaps revised with an eye on posterity. Sarkar's letters do possess intrinsic literary worth, but Sardesai never bestowed any such attention on his letters. Yet both throw a flood of light on the personality and charm of Jadunath Sarkar. No other Indian historian of the time more accurately epitomises the first half of the twentieth century than Jadunath who is sensitive to all the important ideas and new trends in historical research which is the main stream of his life. To it he has given all he has—his learning, his imagination, his wonderful memory, his logical powers, his ever-ready kindness and generosity, and above all his homely comforts and joys.

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[1] Once Sardesai showed willingness to eat eggs and fish. He wrote to Jadunath dated at Girgaum, 27.8.1926 :—

"My situation here has become awfully monotonous for me, my surroundings, room, food and life have been too much in a fixed way. I am therefore thinking of a change. Our house at Kamshet is too lonely and I have no books and library or any friends near. Last week I was in Baroda for three days and liked the change very much. I don't like Poona at all. Do you think if I come to Calcutta now, say after a week, you can put me up without inconvenience. I wish also to try a change in food giving up rice for fish and eggs. If you think I shall not inconvenience you I would come to you now, stay a month at Calcutta and then go on to Patna. My wife may join there later, if convenient.........I am inclined to try to change in as many details as possible and hence I am making this proposal. If I live with you, I will eat exactly the same food that you eat, and will not need anything special for me."

[2] Sardesai wrote to Sarkar on 26.6.46 from Kamashet :—"It is my greatest good fortune that I should have secured in you a permanent mentor to guide my footsteps." He again wrote on 25. 4. 47 :— "I am now re-examining third volume received from you after your revision. When I see the immense labours you have bestowed upon this work of my history, I feel ashamed to claim it as my own. You have given minutest attention to all points of matter, expression and arrangement both in the Ms. and in proof and the improvements thus effected are sure to enhance the value of the work in public estimation." Later on 29. 8. 47 he wrote :— "I heartily welcome your superior judgment and in point of scholarship I know cannot claim even to be a glowworm before the sun". On 14. 10. 50 Sardesai wrote : "I am languishing here in my loneliness and yearn for some stimulation from you."

Restrictions of space forbade the publication of these letters in full. The choice then lay between selection by topic and selection by author. Presenting the two sides of a single correspondence rather than of the papers bearing upon a single theme, definitely gives greater freedom to the documents to tell their own story, and a natural completeness. Sarkar and Sardesai are in the habit of living together for a couple of months every year. This has diminished somewhat the value of these letters, as most of the affairs were personally settled, and not through post. Yet I have endeavoured to include the extracts which narrate day-to-day life with the play of light and shade and show the development of Sarkar's intellect and character, with the least possible interruption of comment.

Each letter has been pruned of everything that seemed to me irrelevant to my purpose, and of everything that I thought Jadunath would have wished to be omitted.[1] No single letter is printed entirely from beginning to end. I have chosen not only passages of consequence but also those which appear casual or trivial. Every sentence that remains, adds, in my opinion, something to the means of forming a conclusion about Jadunath's character. Excepting a few words here and there to elucidate the correspondence, I have confined myself to the work of selection. "All interpretations depend upon the interpreter", and I have thought it best to let Jadunath be his own interpreter. Careful consideration has been given not to make the selections a dull and dreary reading but to provide salt and spice also wherever possible.

To reproduce in type all the vagaries of a manuscript is neither feasible nor desirable, and though I have tried to provide an accurate text, it is not an exact transcription. Various contractions and abbreviations have been at places expanded. The names of months have been spelled out, but other proper names remain unchanged. No other spellings have been changed. Punctuation, quotation marks, etc. have been left as they were originally written, except sometimes to supply a mark overlooked at the beginning or end or a quotation, or a dash in single and compound words, etc. Titles of books, etc. have been italicised by me.

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[1] G. S. Sardesai was anxious to see the correspondence that had passed between him and Jadunath to be published. He sought Sarkar's opinion on this subject. Jadunath had no objection to its publication, but in a letter dated 10 5.1943 he instructed him to "go through it slowly and exhaustively...because the free unrestricted intimacy of private correspondence must avoid the public gaze."

So far as possible the personal idiosyncrasies of the two men have been respected Sarkar often used vol., ed. (for edition), ms., mss., re. (regarding), and wrote most easily using exact punctuation as it was in vogue towards the close of the nineteenth century. Sardesai frequently wrote shd, wd, bet, re. n (north), pt (part), trans (transition), M. E. (Mughal Empire), wh (which), acct (account), recd (received).

The superscription and subscription have not been reproduced. Sarkar in the beginning wrote, 'Dear Sir,' 'Dear Mr. Sardesai', later on changing to 'Dear Govind Rao', 'Dear Nana', and signed 'Yours sinly'. Sardesai normally wrote 'Dear Prof. Sarkar' or 'My dear Prof. Sarkar' up to the beginning of 1930 and thereafter 'My dear Sir Jadunath,' and signed 'Yours sincerely', 'yrs' 'I am, Yours sincerely', 'yours sinly'.

The letters are written on a thin, plain paper, which is gradually fading ; but the ink retains its colour well, though it is also growing dim. Jadunath's writing does not vary at all, indicating no hurry. It is beautiful, steady and in a regular hand. Not a word is illegible, and the mistakes and corrections are very few.

In deciding whether to annotate or not I have tried to consider the general convenience. In the notes, which have been kept as brief as I could, I have tried to identify as many persons and places as possible, usually at the first occurrence of the name.

A perusal of these lettters will convince the reader that Jadunath is a perfect picture of :—

"......... a mind for ever
Voyaging through strange seas of Thought, alone."

—*Wordsworth*

Jadunath Sarkar as I know him

By

RAO BAHADUR Dr G. S. SARDESAI, D. Litt.

Acquaintance and Friendship

Sometime in the year 1904 a letter in an unknown handwriting indicating vigour and precision and with contents severely formal and businesslike, took me by surprise at Baroda. The name of the writer did not solve the mystery as I had not till then heard of him, nor was it likely that he should have heard of me as I was just then at the threshold of my literary career besides being confined to a secluded corner of the secretariat of an Indian State. However, this letter came like a divine windfall and my heart leapt with joy at the prospect of an honourable bargain with the writer of the letter who required my help in supplementing with Marathi sources his vast store of Persian materials regarding the reign of Aurangzib. And I myself in my scheme of the *Marathi Riyasat*, the first part of which was published in 1902 was just then feeling sorely the need of utilising Persian sources without knowing Persian ; whereas the author of *India of Aurangzib* (published in 1901) was eager for an access to the historical domain of Maharashtra through the help of the humble author of *Riyasat*. In short, this letter became the pledge of future co-operation between the Mughal and the Maratha.

At this distance of half a century I remember how I made my acquaintance with young Jadunath then blooming into renown, through the good offices of a dear and deeply lamented friend of mine, Gopalrao Devdhar of the Poona "Servants of India Society", who happened to have met Jadunath sweating over the Persian manuscripts of the Khuda Bakhsh Library of Patna, and incidentally mentioned me and my work to him, and introduced him to me by a letter enclosed with that of Jadunath.

This acquaintance through correspondence soon ripened into a close intellectual friendship, and resulted in cooperative exchange of historical materials supplying our mutual needs during the lifelong progress of our researches. In this connection I remember I lent him my copy of the *Sabhasad Bakhar*, which is still in my library proudly bearing marks of his own hand in hard pencil adding headings to the paragraphs in English. With the help of grammar and dictionary added to the zeal of a neophyte he acquired a high proficiency in the Marathi language in a wonderfully short time. Lure of the unknown in the realm of knowledge had always a fascination for Jadunath, and no barrier was too forbidding against his Alamgirshahi energy and indomitable will.

As Jadunath advanced in his study of Aurangzib he found himself face to face with a mass of original materials in Marathi bearing on the eventful attempt of that monarch to put down the Marathas. It was Jadunath who first discovered the valuable correspondence between Aurangzib and his general Mirza Raja Jai Singh, which enabled him to oust almost the great historian, Grant Duff, in the field of reconstructing the life of Shivaji. What his contemporaries in Maharashtra such as Rajwade, Khare and Parasnis had been doing in the field of Maratha history was already known to him.

Jadunath now began to wage war indeed on two fronts, and won decisive victories in the year 1919 when his *Shivaji and His Times* was published in July, four months after the fourth volume of his *History of Aurangzib.*

Jadunath and the Maratha People

Jadunath's *Shivaji and His Times* has by now gone into five editions, each succeeding one correcting the defects of the previous edition. Maharashtra has since then compelled Jadunath to divide his literary allegiance equally between the Mughal Empire and the *Hindu-pad Padshahi* of Shivaji down to the extinction of both. Jadunath has been accorded an honourable domicile in the affections of the Maratha people, though no historian has been so severe in exposing the weaknesses of our leaders which cost us an Empire. But his heart is warm and his love and sympathy for our people deep and wide. He is a Herodotus in travels in the land of Maharashtra without the Greek master's unsuspecting credulity, and in his treatment of Maratha history he is a Thucydides, calm and dispassionate, severely just and yet possessed of enough fire and firmness to inspire and admonish a brave nation about an unfulfilled political destiny in the eighteenth century.

Arduous Tours

Jadunath has wandered over the craggy hills and picturesque dales of the Maratha homeland spotting the scenes of the Maratha War of Independence and following the trail of the Mughal and the Maratha armies with a phenomenal zeal for first-hand knowledge and the eye of a military surveyor. Every chapter of his *Shivaji and His Times* vibrates with life and vigour born of the personal acquaintance with the country and the people figuring in his enchanting narrative. From Goa to Vijayanagar, from Tanjore and Sandur to Ellora and Ajanta, through

Khandesh and Berar, from Hyderabad in the east to Ahmadnagar in the west, he scoured practically every place of historical importance including the Konkan regions of Chiplun and Sangameshwar. He then used to travel in the third class in light kit carrying with him his only guide, namely a bundle of large scale survey maps. He avoided rich hospitality and preferred hard fare to an uncomfortable obligation which his Roman pride would shun. His spare frame was agile and tough like that of a sturdy Maratha, and when his limbs seemed to succumb to fatigue his ever-buoyant spirit pulled him up. He covered miles of rough country on foot, and climbed steep ascents with the cheerful fortitude of a soldier. After much hardships he paid a visit to the home of the historic Jedhe family descended from Shivaji's early associate and in possession of that priceless chronology of Maratha history known to historians as the *Jedhe Chronology*. Such arduous tours only enabled him to locate accurately many old forgotten sites and set at rest many doubtful points and controversies. He spent a night at *Sakharpa*, a village near Vishalgad, which in the original Persian he had misread as *Shankarpett*.

A Partner in Travels

In most of his journeys after 1925 (when I retired from the Baroda service) I have been his companion, and the time we spent together has been most fruitful to me. I shared his hardships and he accorded me a share of his vast store of knowledge, as, while awake we talked day and night of history and history only. Some of these trips which we planned and undertook together are still fresh in my memory. I can never forget the sessions of the Indian Historical Records Commission at Baroda, Gwalior, Nagpur and other places which we attended for years in company discussing many a historical problem, and seeing many a scene of history. Some of the places we thus visited included Indore, Ujjain, Mandasor, Kotah, Gwalior, Bhilsa, Sanchi, Dhulia, Ajanta, Ellora, Assai, Aurangabad, Daulatabad, Deulgaon Raja, Sindhkhed, Lonor, Mehkar, Bassein, Karanja, Ramtek, Vijaynagar, Talikota, Gadag, Tanjore, Sangameshwar, Mathura, Agra and Delhi.

I have personally observed that the nicely-balanced and detatched intellectualist in Jadunath is overpowered by occasional outbursts of his love and admiration of Maharashtra and its people. He records his impressions thus :

> "I have travelled extensively through the Sayadri hill range and the river valleys, and everywhere have noticed with surprise the free self-reliant character of the common people, peasants and day-labourers such as can never be seen among the helpless ryots of big zamindars

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in Hindustan, the police-ruled population of indigo-growing areas, the vassals (serfs ?) of feudal jagirdars in Rajputana and Malwa. There is a wonderful diffused sense of democratic equality and self-respect among the Marathas which can make them the best nationals of Free India." **Elsewhere he observes :** "In nobility of aims and manly persistence of endeavour the Maratha people have an advantage which no other race in India possesses. They alone among the Hindus had beaten back the tide of Muslim conquest and defended the independence of their country against all the resources of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzib. The Marathas have a historic advantage of unique importance in the India of today. Their near ancestors had faced death in a hundred battle-fields, had led armies and debated in the chamber of diplomacy, had managed the finances of kingdoms and grappled with the problems of Empire. The same honourable spirit is still being shown by the sons of Maharashtra." (Vide *What Maharashtra Teaches Us*)

Thus Jadunath's acquaintance with the Maratha country and his attachment to it have been thoroughly ingrained in his being and they have been daily getting additional strength on account of our joint labour at Poona and Kamshet through the long years of our companionship.

Our Literary Co-operation

In October 1909 under the earnest patronage of the late Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad of Baroda, his scholarly Diwan Ramesh Chandra Dutta, I.C.S., organised the Maratha Library Conference at Baroda. Jadunath along with M. M. Haraprasad Shastri, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar and three other eminent scholars were specially invited to attend that grand assemblage of the high lights of Indian history and culture. As the working Secretary of this Conference I had the long-sought opportunity to meet and know at close quarters Jadunath after four years' acquaintance through correspondence. Along with an all-India outlook in letters brought about by this Baroda Conference, I made a more valuable acquisition, namely, Jadunath's personal friendship anchored with love's lengthening chain through years of tempest in the stormy sea of life. Since then we have invariably met at least once every year and over the gaps of time we have built a historic bridge of letters concealed as yet from any fifth eye. And curiously enough we two did it not knowing what each of us was doing at the other end of this bridge of correspondence. Years after when I happend to tell him that I had carefully preserved all his letters written to me and valued these as a precious treasure, he gave me a more pleasant surprise by saying that he on his part has been preserving every letter I wrote to him ! Time may come perhaps after our exit[1] when some day these letters will reveal how two distant souls came daily closer together and fully shared each other's joys

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[1] The substance of this correspondence of historical value is published in their life-time in this volume.

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and sorrows, sustaining the spirit of one another, and how we have raised and solved many a baffling problem of medieval history of India. The letters all deal with knotty points of Indian history.

Our comradeship in letters developed into a sort of sentimental family relationship over-riding distance of geography, of race and caste. I have lived with him at Patna, Calcutta and Darjeeling, and he with our family at Bombay and other places. We have enjoyed our happiest time together in my last shelter of old age on the bank of the Indrayani at Kamsbet working hard to reconstruct the history of the Peshwa regime. Though we have both finished our labours, Jadunath comes every year to breathe the bracing air of Maharashtra, and lives though not with me in my dreary and forlorn hermitage of Kamshet yet sufficiently near at Talegaon to comfort me, reviving my drooping spirits for a time.

Our joint endeavours in digging out the buried historical treasures of India from neglected corners have been eminently fruitful. It is a well-known fact,—though Jadunath in his proud scholarly indifference to little acknowledgements may not care to publish it,—that I was able to carry to completion the stupendous work of editing the series of forty-five volumes of the *Peshwa Dafter Selections* mainly through the active and unstinted support (both moral and intellectual) which I received from him during four years of abnormal trouble and stress that bore me down. It was his loving encouragement and pressure that could persuade me to join him in our next venture, namely the publication of the cognate English series of fourteen volumes of the *Poona Residency Correspondence*, an indispensable supplement to the Peshwa Dafter bringing this period of uncharted history down to the fall of the Maratha power.

To mention only one of the many lesser ventures in historical study regarding Maratha history under Jadunath's powerful initiative and drive, *e.g.*, the publication of the news-letters from Mahadaji Sindhia's Camp about 800 in number published in one volume by the Gwalior Darbar, and two volumes of original letters published by the Historical Society of Gwalior. I have in my possession two files of important correspondence concerning the minor activities in which we two figured.

Though I cannot say that I could render much help to Jadunath, I am for ever grateful to him for disinterested and unique help I received from him in my own historical studies. But for his helpful comradeship I would have been nowhere near the fulfilment of my life's mission. I sincerely feel that it is to him that I owe all the work which I have been able to put forth. Jadunath's interest in Maratha history and his mastery over the old Marathi have been most fortunate for Maharashtra though imbecile jealousy and resentment at this inroad into the Maratha preserve by a bold Northerner have not been wanting to detract his work. Jadunath's command of Persian and Dingal (Western Hindi) combined with his technique of textual criticism gave him a decisive advantage over any purely Marathi-bred scholar. This I could realise when I began editing the Peshwa Dafter, when he regularly sent me corrections of misreadings and copyist's errors. He alone could detect wrong readings of Persian words in the original *Modi*.

Today his knowledge of Marathi is thorough and accurate. It may be said to have attained perfection now that Marathi poetry has ceased to be a mystery to him. He loves to reproduce Tukaram and Kabir, Kalidas and Rabindranath, Shakespeare, Hali and Hafiz in the same breath.

Though Jadunath has mastered several modern Indian and foreign languages, particularly French and Portuguese, none stands nearer to his heart than the treasures of Sanskrit literature. He withdraws himself occasionally from the fatigue of the Mughal *Akhbarat* into the company of Kālidās and Bhavabhūti giving a loose rein to his mind and memory either to sail with the Cloud Messenger (*Meghadūtam*) to Alakā, or ramble with disconsolate Ramachandra moistening with a lover's tears the banks of the mourning Mālinī and her forest-girt grottos echoing with the sweet memories of his exile ; or occasionally to the water-fall of Mahā-Kośī in the company of gods to solicit Pārvatī of her father as the bride of Shiva madly in love with her in *Kumārasambhavam*.

During one of our historical tours we were going round the ruins of Vijayanagar when the frieze of stone carvings in the hall of the Sahasra Rāma-Swāmi temple arrested our attention. I asked Jadunath what some of those figures could be. He paused for a while and began citing from *Raghuvamśamś* without any effort those verses that describe Paraśurāma's challenge to Rāma on his way to Mithilā and his discomfiture by Rama. He then explained to me that the artist who engraved this scene must have had in his mind this description of Kālidāsa to feed his imagination and guide his chisel. Jadunath's critical skill and command of Sanskrit helped me in recovering the readings of a badly mutilated copy of some 250 sheets of a manuscript of Paramānanda's *Śiva-bhāratam* photographed for me. I despaired of the hopeless job, but Jadunath would not. He spent a month on reading those sheets and bringing out some kind of order out of chaos.

Jadunath's Memory and Encyclopaedic Learning

One morning in April 1949 at Kamshet when we both were engaged in our usual literary work oblivious of the march-past of a year of the

Indian Calendar and the dawn of the New Year's Day of another, a party of boys of the Kamshet Residential School accompanied by their Headmaster greeted us with their New Year's compliments and asked for our blessings and a message for the Hindu New Year. While I was hesitating what appropriate words I should write for them, Jadunath quietly pulled out a piece of paper, and wrote on it in his own hand a line from the Heliodorus pillar inscription at Bhilsa (cir. 130 B C.) which means that the best religion consists in carrying into practice self-restraint, self-sacrifice and right thinking. What more fitting message from Ancient India could a venerable Guru give to Modern India than these words of *Paramabhāgavata* Heliodorus, a Greek ambassador from Taxila to the Court of Vidiśā ! The Headmaster and his boys and I myself no less, were highly struck by the powerful memory and the depth of Jadunath's learning even beyond his sphere of specialization. This is what in Sanskrit is called *Upasthitā Vidyā* or knowledge at one's beck and call as opposed to *Pustakasthā Vidyā* or knowledge within the lock-up of books and manuscripts, which fails at the hour of need (*Kārya-kālé samutpanné*) like money kept in another's custody.

Memory is the first gift of a genius in any field of statecraft or letters, whether they are illiterates like Akbar and Shivaji, Haider Ali or Ranjit ; or highly erudite men like Macaulay and Mill, Śankarachārya or Sāyana. Sir Jadunath's memory, however, is not the memory of the Mulla and the Pandit, who carry the Quran and the Vedas as a load by an artificial cultivation of the faculty of cramming. His is a natural gift from childhood it seems, not only retentive but also selective. Those who like me had the privilege of knowing Jadunath at close quarters with a rare opportunity to have a peep into the treasure-vault of his mind, always guarded by the triple gates of brass of forbidding reserve and calculated silence,—will bear me out that his memory is not a lumber-room but a neatly arranged chamber of pigeon-holes of information which his disciplined mind and discriminating brain sift and preserve with the thoroughness and foresight of a Bismarck. He is equally at home with East and West from ages past and present in the field of polite literature and fine arts, which are so accurately caught in the reflection of his mind,—veritably a magic Mirror of Alexander. But Jadunath is not a believer in magic or anything super-human in him. His only answer is that there is nothing extraordinary in his achievements, which are nothing but the reward of his hard labour and harder thinking on the affairs of man.

An Example

I cannot resist here the temptation of describing only one of the many surprises Jadunath gave me in his relaxing mood. One evening when I happened to be his guest at Darjeeling, his daughter and daughter-in-law went to see a picture showing Queen Victoria and her ministers in it. I accompanied the ladies, but Sir Jadunath did not venture out in the cold of a raw and rainy night as he was then suffering from cold. We returned at midnight and slept. Early morning next day we sat round a small fire for taking tea and watching the boiling pot. Jadunath asked his daughter what she thought of the picture. The historian's daughter scenting criticism politely submitted that the picture was about something of Queen Victoria and her ministers which was not historically true. At this the historian began surveying the whole reign of Queen Victoria in a nutshell. He presented us with so vivid a word-portrait of the Queen and her ministers, Melbourne, Palmerston, Disraeli, Gladstone and others with a few but sure human touches that the shadows of the dead seemed to pass in procession before us. An hour glided by unnoticed and it was the most valuable treat I ever had had in English history. Geography not only of India but of the world is one of the strongest plates in the armour of this knight of the Muses.

What one cannot exact from Jadunath in a serious lecture or formal address flows lucidly from his talks when he is in an easy relaxing mood. I have only a few days perhaps to remember many a pleasant random talk with Jadunath in the cool evenings in the verandah of our house in the sleepy hollow of Kamshet. It gave me very great pleasure to recite to him *abhangs* of Marathi poet-saints knowing full well that he would cap them with similar passages or parallels from the gems of English literature or from his favourites, Rabindranath and Kalidas, saying smilingly "the time of the wise passes in wooing poetry." There comes a flow-tide in Jadunath's Ganges-like expanse of memory when he can be induced to talk about the private life and administration of the Mughal Emperors and of the follies and foibles of the Mughal courtiers. Every small detail, name place, date, source or what apparently would be considered as a useless trifle, he would deftly weave into his narrative so as to breathe life and light into them.

Once when we were visiting the Mughal palaces within Agra Fort, we stopped at the Diwan-i-Khas musing over the reception of the great Shivaji in that hall by Emperor Aurangzib. To amuse and instruct us, Jadunath staged there veritably an One-Act drama himself playing the role of the second-bakhshi Asad Khan, leading Shivaji to the foot of the empty imperial masnad, making him perform kornish and presenting nazars on behalf of Shivaji and his son; and filled the gaps in his action by courtierlike addresses.

Jadunath's Family and Academic Distinctions

Jadunath destined to write the history of the third son of Shah Jahan, was himself the third son of late Raj Kumar Sarkar, an enlightened Zamindar of Rajshahi in North Bengal. Jadunath was born on Saturday, second day of the dark fortnight of month of *Marga-shisha* of the year 1870 (10th December 1870) in the village of Karachmaria, Rajshahi district. He had his early education in the town of Rajshahi and passed his Entrance Examination in 1887 standing sixth in order of merit in the University of Calcutta. After having passed his F.A. Examination from the Rajshahi College, Jadunath entered the Presidency College at Calcutta from which he passed his B.A. Examination with Double Honours in History and English in 1891, and here he had to part with History for a time as he chose to take his M.A. degree next year in English.

Jadunath's M.A. result created a sensation in the University, the previous records of which in English he threw into the shade. He topped the list of successful candidates obtaining 90, 92 and 95 per cent. marks in three papers, and a little less in other papers. On this account the Government offered him a scholarship for prosecuting higher studies in England, but owing to personal reasons Jadunath declined the offer and decided to work for the Premchand Roychand Scholarship. The Government offer was then accepted by one of his class-mates, Mr. Albion Bannerji who proceeded to England and took the I.C.S. Examination along with Mr. Arabindo Ghose, who had been already there. What Jadunath lost in the I.C.S. career, proved a permanent gain to history.

Jadunath's preparation for the Premchand Roychand Scholarship gave a novel turn to his work in life and requires a word of explanation. That competition in early days was the highest, the most difficult and therefore the most coveted prize under the Calcutta University. The original character of the prize was later changed so that its history in early days cannot now be properly grasped. A Bhatia merchant of Bombay, whose name the prize bears, suddenly amassed a large fortune during the cotton boom of 1866 and spent much of it in various useful charities. He made a gift of two lacs of rupees to the Calcutta University on the stipulation that the interest on the amount during the year (at first Rs. 10,000 later Rs. 8,000/- and finally Rs. 7,000/-) should be bestowed on a scholar of the highest academic merit displayed in the University Examinations. Severe written tests were attached to the award and there were certain years when no one was deemed eligible for it. Capacity for enormous labour during a number of years, keen aptitude for research, vast reading, a strong memory, proficiency in language, these were the essential qualifications for success in that hard competition. Those who succeeded in winning the scholarship proved to be men of exceptional efficiency and never failed to make a permanent mark in Bengali cultured society and public service. Sharda Charan Mitra and Ashutosh Mukerji were among the predecessors of Jadunath in this rare honour. Sir Gurudas Banerji had failed in that effort as he stood second and as only one award was available. The Examination was necessarily very stiff and involved a special study of many subjects, the English language, History, Economics, Political Science, with extensive courses attached to each. For instance the study of English required a complete knowledge of English philology, a thorough acquaintance with Anglo-Saxon (Old English) together with its later changes during medieval and modern times and an intimate knowledge of the different periods of English literature and its sources both in prose and verse. No limits were set in prescribing the questions to be set for that competition. One special requirement for the Examination lay in the deep study of the history of India with reference to original sources (esp. Asoka and Akbar).

Jadunath possessed special aptitude for such a hard test. He was from the beginning given to books and avoided publicity. With a rare fondness for reading he was well up in English and Sanskrit. At first he did not know Persian, but when he decided to take up the life of Aurangzib and the study of Medieval India as the subject of the original research required by the then terms of Scholarship, he learnt that language, in which alone the original sources of that period were available. Thus he put in full four years of strenuous labour after passing his M.A. (1892) and appeared for the Scholarship examination in 1897 and obtained the prize. The award consisted of a gold medal and a cash prize of Rs. 7,000/- to be paid in five years. After receiving the first two instalments, the candidate had to pass through another test which required the presentation of an original thesis in some unexplored field. For this Jadunath first selected the early Mughal period of Indian History, but realising that this involved an extremely wide field and that older men like Beveridge were already working on it, he after considerable deliberation decided to work on Aurangzib's life, a subject which was full of varied incidents and offered a virgin field for investigation, as it had not till then been attempted by any one else.

He at once set himself to collecting original materials bearing on that subject and soon discovered many important Persian manuscripts in England and India, particularly at the India Office, the British Museum, the Bodleian Library and also in Paris, Lisbon and Berlin. He obtained copies of these works at his own expense, copies made by hand in early stages and later photostats. He also made an extensive search for materials in places like Delhi, Rampur, Lahore, Hyderabad and other former seats of Mulism power. He thus secured a large number of Aurangzib's letters. For this enormous work he had to engage copyists. Thus after patient study and labour he at last submitted his complete thesis "*India of Aurangzib*" in a comprehensive treatise with minute details of routes, battlefields and statistics. He also prepared special tables of varied information bearing on Aurangzib's administration. The University rules required the thesis in a printed form, which he submitted in 1901 and then he received the remaining instalments of the stipulated prize. The effort thus involved full nine years of intensive study, 1892 to 1901. The Premchand Roychand award has now been split up into smaller parts, each available to three or four persons at a time, so that its original glare and eminence have now disappeared.

The earlier chapters of his history of Aurangzib, which deal with Shuja's contest for the throne, Jadunath submitted to the Calcutta University under a nom-de-plume, competing for the Griffith prize, which was awarded to him in 1909. The book itself was ultimately completed in 5 volumes. He brought out vols. 1 and 2 in 1912, which comprised the story of Aurangzib's life up to his formal coronation in 1659. As he began to work for the succeeding period he got trace of very valuable Persian material lying uncared for in the Archives of the State of Jaipur. With difficulty he got access to those records, which he found lying in disordered heaps full of dust and partly worm-eaten. He picked out some very important papers and managed to secure their copies to which he later added further material from other sources in India and outside. This involved a lot of severe labour; the very first operation being cleaning, reading and arranging old papers, then after understanding their import the next step was to fix their dates and context, and then to translate them in English. Such are the successive stages through which an explorer has to pass in constructing a fresh episode in Indian history. Jadunath in this way secured firm basis of his life's work.

Jadunath's Professional Career

As mentioned above, Jadunath took his M.A. degree in 1892 and during the next five years while reading for the Premchand Roychand Scholarship he accepted temporary work as a lecturer in English at the Vidyasagar and Ripon Colleges and spent his earnings on books, as was his wont even during his college course. But when he won the Scholarship he entered the educational service in Bengal as a lecturer at the

Presidency College, Calcutta, in June 1898. A year after he was taken away to Patna as a Professor of English by Dr. C. R. Wilson, Principal at that college, which then required renovation, and as it had not been fully staffed, Jadunath was soon required to teach History, in addition to English. Later on when a full history department was organized in that College in 1909 Jadunath began to work exclusively on history. And now when we know him to be a sound scholar of history only, we must not forget that his knowledge of linguistics in general and of English in particular, is not only deep and widespread, but that it alone made it possible for him to put forth such a vast amount of literary output. His proficiency is visible in every line that he has published. This linguistic polish, brevity, accuracy and soundness are easily discernible even in his casual talks and letters.

Professor Jadunath served mostly at Patna since July 1899 with a return for only five months to Calcutta from June to November 1901. From August 1917 to June 1919 his services were borrowed by the Banaras Hindu University. When he left Banaras he was promoted to the Imperial Educational Service and transferred to the Ravenshaw College at Cuttack as Senior Professor of History. Here he worked for about four years from July 1919 to October 1923 when he went back to Patna. He retired from service in August 1926 and earned his pension, when Lord Lytton, Governor of Bengal, appointed him Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University in an honorary capacity, a task which was accepted as a duty and which he quitted as soon as his first term of two years was completed. Since August 1928 he has been a free student devoting all his time to literary activities.

His Travels

Although Jadunath has not cared to travel to the western countries, he is by no means a mere bookworm. He has travelled extensively in India and visited most of the historical sites, battle-fields and old monuments by way of study and research rather than for enjoyment, not sparing fatigue and inconvenience. In early life he made it a practice to spend his vacations in going about different places during the short Dusehra holidays and carrying on his studies in the quiet and cool atmosphere of a hill station during the long summer vacations. His first visit to Darjeeling was in the summer of 1904 and he liked the place so much that thereafter he visited it almost every year during the summer and later he purchased there a small house of his own. He often took his family there along with him and as the house could not accommodate them all, he later purchased there a charming site in picturesque surroundings and built a large two-storied house of his own in 1927. Here he continued to spend the major part of the year after his retirement from service and came down to Calcutta only during the winter months. To Darjeeling he transferred his large library of rare books and spent lavishly on it in order to make it perfect, although he had to leave parts of his books both at Calcutta and at his ancestral home Rajshahi. As he grew older he found Darjeeling unsuited to his health, so that he gave up residence there in 1940 and removed all his books to Calcutta. There he built a new house of his own, at 10, Lake Terrace, where he now spends most of his time.

But to revert to his study tours when his younger brother Bijay went to join the Engineering College at Roorkee, Jadunath took him there in 1894. That was the first occasion he utilized in going round some of the large towns and historical places in North India from Hardwar to Banaras. In October 1904 he made a most enjoyable pilgrimage to Budh Gaya in the distinguished company of Sister Nivedita, Rabindranath Tagore, Sir J. C. Bose and several learned ascetics of the Ramakrishna Mission.

Jadunath always projected his itinerary long in advance, closely studied the railway time-tables and Murray's *Handbook,* and drew up his programme leaving sufficient intervals for inspection of sites far away from the railway lines. To suit his scanty means he travelled almost invariably by the intermediate (sometimes the third) class, carrying just enough clothing and articles of light weight to avoid worry. His habits are simple and self-reliant. On arrival he would not waste a single minute in formalities of reception or complementary talks, but at once set to his legitimate work of the functions he was called upon to attend.

Jadunath as a Scholar and Historian

All of Jadunath's later literary performance is the legitimate and logical expansion of the Premchand Roychand thesis on "*India of Aurangzib : Its Statistics, Topography and Roads*" (*1901*). From this slender start his genius like the mighty Ganges furrowed through the vast expanse of the history of the Mughal Empire to its historic end in the year 1803. But the Mughal Empire has proved too small to contain all the energy and learning of Jadunath. The dry bed of the history of Medieval Bengal as well as the tumultuous mountain stream of Maratha history, has been equally benefited by the outflow of Jadunath's genius as a historian. A soldier fighting the battle of life all through as Sir Jadunath has been doing, age seems to have as little effect on his energy and optimism as it had on Aurangzib when on the wrong side of eighty. His very constitution demands as it were work, more work, though not even his enemies would say that he ever cared for fame and popularity or for making piles as an author.

It is no use making a catalogue of his writings in English and Bengali apart from his classics, namely the *History of Aurangzib, Shivaji,* and the *Fall of the Mughal Empire.* Whatever he has cared to write will remain ever green and fresh, because his pen moves like the delicate brush of the court-artists of the Mughal Empire. He concentrates his best effort on his English style. Jadunath remarks very often that what taxes his brain most are style and presentation, in which he has attained perfection almost by assiduous efforts added to his natural gifts for observation and narration. Once he told me a long story of Sir William Howard Russell, the famous correspondent of the London *Times,* of whom I had never heard before. He was sent to Crimea to report on the Russian War, later on to India to report on the thrilling events of the Mutiny, and the last time with the Prince of Wales in 1874. Russell was a master of style and observation, and his reports were graphic and brilliant, well-balanced and true to the minutest detail. So it seems that Russell had a considerable influence on the style of Jadunath, who excels in describing the march of armies, progress of battles, strategy of generals and tedium of sieges. He is never tired of writing, revising, re-writing until in the result he produces a polished composition with a striking effect always edifying and expressive of life.

Ramanand Chatterji and Jadunath Sarkar became friends in 1902. Ramanand had just then started his Bengali monthly *Prabasi* and pressed Jadunath to contribute historical matter for that periodical. A little later Chatterji conceived the plan of starting an English magazine dealing with current politics and historical research. The result was the birth of the *Modern Review* in January 1907, the very first issue containing a historical paper from Jadunath. Since that time he has regularly contributed useful articles serving the cause of historical research. In course of time the accumulated stock of Jadunath's stray writings became so vast and came into demand so widely that he had to publish some of his past papers for ready reference in book form and these he published in his *Studies in Mughal India* (1920) and *House of Shivaji* (1943).

As soon as his *History of Aurangzib* was completed (in 1925), he was led into its natural continuation, the expansion of the Maratha power under the Peshwas. The special need for this new undertaking arose from his willingness to edit the studies of the late Mr. William Irvine entitled *The Later Mughals.* Irvine left the work incomplete at his death with the year (1737). Jadunath issued Irvine's chapters in two well arranged volumes, adding three chapters of his own to the original work, thus bringing the story to the year 1739. This publication of the *Later Mughals* has been highly appreciated in the scholarly world.

Thus was Jadunath led into a close study of the whole Maratha period having to deal with the exploration of the Peshwa Dafter at Poona, the Gulgale Dafter of Kotah, the Parasnis papers of Mahadaji Sindhia and later on the *Poona Residency Correspondence* series undertaken by the Bombay Government. In order to give a proper compact shape to all these diffused historical studies Jadunath conceived the grand plan of writing a separate work on the fall of the Mughal Empire on the model of Gibbon's monumental history. Of this fresh series he gradually published four volumes of weighty matter describing the Mughal-Maratha politics of the eighteenth century, that is from the death of Aurangzib to the British control over the last Emperor Shah Alam (1707-1803). These four volumes bring together in a clear outline the bewildering maze of India's eighteenth century history with remarkable success in unravelling the various threads. The advent of the British power on the Indian scene and its rapid expansion have been well clarified in Jadunath's writings.

In all his writings one easily notices his own mark of originality and extensive reading. He often refreshes the subject by adding apt quotations and appropriate illustrations from world history and literature. I would give only two small illustrations to show what I mean. Refer to page 142 of his *"Shivaji and his Times"* (4th ed.) where Shivaji at his visit to the Emperor asks, "Is this Jaswant whose back my soldiers have seen?" In a footnote a famous interview of a similar import is quoted between Wellington and Louis XVIII of France. Wellington retorted to Louis's apologies, "Your Highness need not worry, it is by their backs that I have generally known your generals." Similarly on p. 203 of the same book Jadunath compares Jijabai to Queen Gautami Satakarni, who prided herself in her son's glory. Such illustrations are certainly enlivening and will be found appropriately thrown in all his writings.

Although Jadunath has never gone abroad, he is no less conversant with the world movements of thought and life. He has been a constant reader of the *Times Literary Supplement* and before it of the *Athenaeum* for half a century. This is enough to indicate how a renowned specialist can manage to keep himself always abreast of his times in his knowledge of current affairs, new discoveries in science, latest noteworthy contributions to History, Economics and Political Science and informative reviews of Books on these subjects.

In short, Jadunath as a historian is not an accident, not a fortunate child of opportunities, but the consummation of a life of preparation, planning, hard industry and ascetic devotion to a great mission.

Jadunath as a Man

Jadunath has never cared for popularity with the masses of his countrymen either as a historian or a social being. He is a born aristocrat, Roman in his unostentatious pride and stern sense of duty and patriotism. Possibly one cannot call him an amiable personality for common purposes. He is by nature unusually reserved and taciturn, inclined rather to avoid tactfully than seek avidly any society and limelight. He has been and aspires to remain always a student as well as a teacher. Punctual in all his engagements, regular in correspondence, methodical in habits, strict in exacting work from himself as from others, alert in garnering every bit of fresh information on any topic he has on hand, Jadunath is all that a genuine student and gentleman should be. My long and intimate association with him enables me to know his worth as a man and scholar as hardly anyone else probably does. Usually reticent by nature, uncommunicative and unobtrusive, it is very difficult at first to know his mind or fathom his views. Not being outspoken he has this advantage that one cannot easily impose upon him. He will not lightly trust a stranger, until he personally tests the sincerity of purpose and his genuine desire to learn. He hates nepotism and partiality in the public administration. His sense of duty as a citizen sometimes diverts his powerful pen to outspoken criticism of officials and workers. He is a fearless critic and on that account he had to suffer much in worldly advancement under the British regime, and now in popularity with the public.

While it is difficult to dislodge him from a position or view that he has formed, he is equally ready to admit his mistake when sufficient evidence is placed before him. Indeed one of his peculiarities is that he is always decisive and never halting or hesitating. As a rule he always carries his point in open discussion. He is sharp and assertive in what he says and writes and is certainly a living encyclopaedia on the subject of history. In monetary matters he is liberal and charitable to those in need and those who deserve, but otherwise he is strict and economical in his expenditure. He has never hankered after money. He spends lavishly on books and travels and the needs of a large family. He has spent much in taking copies of rare manuscripts by hand or photography from England and other countries, for which he had to pay heavy charges as micro—filming was unknown in those early days. I noticed in his house at Patna clerks employed in copying Persian works of which he now possesses a rare collection.

His own personal needs are quite few. He can sleep on the floor and take rest wherever he needs it. I have observed him working with a kerosene lamp during the long hours of the night and soundly asleep in the late morning hours. He has often worked days and nights without remission when work imposes on him a stress of that kind. I know the period of his Vice-Chancellorship of two years was to him a time of abnormal strain and anxiety. He hates aimless or idle talks. In such cases his remark, a short word or sentence, conveys a meaning. He does not smoke or drink and lives a life of puritan simplicity. He has the gift of commanding sleep or rest at any time that may be convenient. On getting up in the morning he usually takes a light stroll in the open air, as if musing within himself or gathering the scattered threads of a subject which is the uppermost in his mind. He hates show in dress and goes to functions in a simple unostentatious style ; but he never fails to impress the gathering by his tall stature, dark penetrating eyes, the determined grip of his lips and his grave serene countenance. He would never leave to others what he can do himself. When he is my guest in the dearth of servants he has always done his own washing himself and even cleaned the cup and saucer that he has used. To my objection he used to reply by quoting the saying of Socrates, "He who has the fewest wants is most like the gods." He never requires the services of a stenographer or a typist. His own drafts are always better than printed matter, accurate to a comma.

I have experienced occasions in his company when he has not spared to criticise anything he disapproved in my acts or ways ; but more often I have received at his hands such tender care and brotherly affection as I thought I never deserved. Bhavabhuti in a beautiful little verse has described the hearts of uncommon personalities as harder than adamant and yet softer than flowers :

वज्रादपि कठोराणि मृदूनि कुसुमादपि ॥
लोकोत्तराणां चेतांसि ... ...

I have no hesitation in saying that this description of Bhavabhuti aptly depicts Jadunath's character and life. If I may give another illustration, I would like to compare him to a raw unpeeled fruit of the coconut tree, the exterior of which is hard and uncouth, but once you reach the inside, you will be rewarded with the sweetest juice and kernel the like of which you would not find in any other fruit.

Jadunath Sarkar

(*A Biographical Sketch*)

By

Dr. K. R. QANUNGO, M. A., Ph. D.

(1)

In the library of Jadunath's house at Kukuriapoda in the town of Cuttack,—where I had gone to live with him as a research pupil in 1919, I saw a half-size oil portrait of a turbaned old man. This was, I learnt, the portrait of Babu Raj Kumar Sarkar, Jadunath's father, in his official zamindari dress. This old patriarch with long moustaches, a forehead without furrows, a grave countenance relieved by a faint outline of kindly smile, and a pair of penetrating eyes that fix an onlooker and forbid him to look full into the face, was no less remarkable a character in his own time than his more fortunate sons have been in this century.

The key to the ante-chamber of Jadunath's character as a man and as a scholar lies in truth not with Jadunath but with his father, who was too potent a force in moulding the future of his sons to be ignored in any life-sketch of Jadunath.

(2)

Sepoy Mangal Pandey fired the first shot of the Mutiny on the 29th of March, 1857, at Barrackpur. A short time thereafter boatloads of white soldiers came up the Ganges to Bahrampur where Babu Raj Kumar Sarkar, aged about eighteen, was appearing at the annual examination for the F. A. class at the Bahrampur college, then affiliated to the newly-founded Calcutta University. It was not the Mutiny but the death of his father which compelled Babu Raj Kumar Sarkar to give up his academic ambitions only after obtaining a prize for standing first in Mathematics. Though young he was made of the stuff of a fighting baron and a born leader of men. Within a few years his masterful personality and tact brought order out of chaos in his zamindari of Karachmāria in the Rajshahi district. He raised a family of seven sons and three daughters by his worthy consort, Harisundari, a Cornelia in nobility and purity of heart, whom I saw in her eighties about 20 years back.

A stern moralist and man of frugal habits, Babu Raj Kumar Sarkar kept a well-regulated household free from the concomitant vices of unearned income, unrestrained licence and untamed passions that prevailed in an average zamindar's house of those days. He hated playing the absentee landlord, and was content to live in his own zamindari, spending a fair portion of his income for the welfare of his ryots. He subsidised a *Kaviraj* for distributing medicines free of cost to his tenants, and established primary schools in his zamindari at a time when such public charity was hardly known elsewhere in the country-side.

Babu Raj Kumar Sarkar's solid virtues won for him the confidence and esteem of his elders in age and fame. Though a conservative Hindu, he was appointed by Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore one of the trustees of the Brahmo Sabha of Rajshahi. He was the brain of the Rajshahi Association of Zamindars as its secretary. His public services won for him a certificate of Honour in the Proclamation Darbar of Queen Empress Victoria (1877 A.D.).

Babu Raj Kumar Sarkar had, however, in him something of the knight-errant, which involved him in worries and pecuniary losses for the sake of people living outside his zamindari. His honest rage was roused by the long-practised tyranny of the European Indigo-planters against whom even the sympathetic Indian Civil Service was helpless. He, with rare courage and without fear of consequences, threw a challenge to the indigo-planters in defence of the legitimate rights of cultivators of the *Maricha Diara Char* in the Murshidabad district where he had no interest. This involved him in expensive lawsuits, one of which was obstinately fought upto the Privy Council with success.

In moral and intellectual outlook Jadunath's father was a child of the Indian Renaissance in the nineteenth century under the impact of the West, the best fruits of which were to be gathered by his children in later life. It was a news in those days outside Calcutta that a country-side zamindar had built up a decent family library of choice books on English Literature, History and Science and preserved the issues of the *Hindu Patriot* and *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, which later on came to his sons as a valuable patrimony. This family library, supplemented by other journals, stimulated the interest of his children for wide reading at an early age and served as the nursery of a broad general culture that distinguished Jadunath and his brothers afterwards. A balance between Science and Literature in the intellectual equilibrium of Babu Raj Kumar Sarkar was reflected in the mental make-up of his sons, half of whom turned to Science and the other half to Literature with the love of history as the common heritage of all. It was no little surprise to Jadunath to find the pages of the volumes of Russel's Modern Europe in the Presidency College Library uncut, a book which had been read by him in his early teens in his father's library at Rajshahi. A few years later Jadunath gave an indication of his predilection for History in an article on *The Fall of Tipu Sultan,* published in the *Suhrid,* the quarterly of the Eden Hindu Hostel (1891). Babu Raj Kumar Sarkar stood for him as the noble arch-type of a scholar and gentleman, and he owned his interest in history to his own father.

(3)

Jadunath, the third son of Babu Raj Kumar Sarkar, was born on December 10, 1870, at his ancestral house in the village of Karachmaria, about 10 miles east of the Atreyi railway station and 80 miles north-east of the town of Rampur Boalia now known as Rajshahi. As a child Jadunath is said to have been a pet of his mother, occupying the place nearest to her while going to sleep at night. But the future footballer's legs would move in sleep and touch his mother's body, and so one day he received a warning that if his legs again touched her body he would lose his privilege. Unnoticed by his mother the resourceful child tied his legs next evening with a sheet to the bedstead and thus retained his coveted place. His mother told her grandsons later that boy Jadunath used to run to her during intervals of play and reading for a little fondling which seemed to revive his spirits.

Jadunath learnt the Bengali alphabet perhaps at the age of four, though he does not remember the date of the ceremonial of his formally tracing the first letter of the Bengali alphabet. After two years at the village school maintained by his father, he was in his 8th year brought to Rajshahi town to live with his elder brothers and cousins and put in the collegiate school in the lowest class (Class X of those days and Class I of our times). There he started with Murray's Spelling Book ; but before he had completed his session he was removed to Calcutta with his brothers. Babu Raj Kumar Sarkar rented a house in Baniatola for a family mess, and left Jadunath there in the charge of his eldest son, Kumudnath, who was to act as the guardian to his juniors during their father's absence. It was a Spartan life without play which Jadunath lived there. He was admitted to the old Class IX of the Hare School and a year later he was transferred to the City Collegiate School. Jadunath has a faint recollection of having seen Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar of pious memory only once at the Sanskrit-yantra Press Bookshop in the company of its Manager Chandi Charan Bandopadhya, who loved to visit Karachmaria for angling. He also remembers to have heard during his first sojourn at Calcutta the heart-stirring sermon of the world famous preacher of Brahmoism, Keshab Chandra Sen. What the preacher spoke about he does not remember but he remembers well that he sat in the front on the benches meant for children. His father also took him once to Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore, whom the father venerated and admired.

Babu Raj Kumar Sarkar's grandfather had become a convert to Vaishnavism, and since then the sacrificial swords of the cult of the warrior goddess had been relegated to the family arsenal, and onion and garlic, meat and eggs banished from the family kitchen. Jadunath's father relented to this extent that if the children felt like taking onions, they might roast them by lighting a fire outside the kitchen and eating them there while at Karachmaria. In Rajshahi, he permitted to others lawful meat of sacrifice before a deity but no butcher's meat, and this to be cooked without onion. At Calcutta, the same orthodox tradition had to be maintained even in the absence of Babu Raj Kumar Sarkar for fear of losing the services of their Hindu cooks and servants. But the boys had their own devices. Jadunath being the youngest of the lot was occasionally sent to buy stealthily the baker's loaf, a monopoly of the Muslim shops. One day, Jadunath while returning with his purchase of the forbidden loaf (*pao-roti* or *double roti*, first introduced by the Portuguese), found a Maitra Brahman, a much-dreaded citadel of orthodoxy in North Bengal, sitting upstairs. Leaving the loaves quietly in a corner downstairs, he walked up confidently to meet the unwelcome guest.

After two full years in Calcutta, the Sarkar lads came back to Rajshahi and there Jadunath was admitted to the old Class V of the Rajshahi Collegiate School. He studied there for five years in the High School and for two years in the Rajshahi College to complete his F. A. course. These were for him years of all work and no play, no diversions except public lectures at the Rajshahi Dharmasabha. By the close of the nineteenth century the Brahmo Samaj had split up into three churches and become a spent force in Bengal, except at Calcutta and Dacca. But it had performed a noble mission by giving a severe shaking to the rusty Hindu conservatism, and as a consequence of it there came about a vigorous Hindu counter-reformation to regain the lost field. The froth and foam of the reformation and the counter-reformation in Bengal had subsided when Jadunath was a schoolboy at Rajshahi, where Brahmoism could make little headway. Jadunath attended the lectures of learned Pandits at the Dharmasabha, and even to this day, he remembers with admiration the zeal and eloquence of some of those orthodox orators, particularly of Shiv Chandra Vidyarnav. One of those Pandits had an ingenious device of preaching an old Hindu astronomical truth against a current untruth, namely,—that the sun revolves round the earth. And this he did by means of an improvised globe with three discs within. Besides listening to these eloquent discourses on the best in Hindu religion, Jadunath breathed the pure *bhakti* atmosphere of *Vaishnavism* in his village home at Karachmaria. Gopinath (Lord of the Gopis) was the family deity daily worshipped there with pomp and ceremony, though Lord Shiva also received his daily worship with *Bel* leaves and water. *Kirtans* (religious singing assemblies) were frequent, and *Vaishnavas* in large number were feasted on certain days.

Jadunath though not physically weak or lean suffered from annual attacks of Malaria, a malady which raged furiously throughout North Bengal. The *Kaviraji* medicines of their family physician, Sashi *Kabiraj*, were used. Sometimes he would remain almost senseless with the mercury touching 105 and regain consciousness at 102; but the *Kaviraj* forbade even the washing of the head with cold water. D. Gupta's blessed malaria patent was next tried with greater effect. A last resort was a change, not to any health resort, but a few days of outing in a boat. He had to be carried in a *palki* to his examination hall, weak from a fever which had left him only 3 days before, when he sat for his F.A. examination at the Rajshahi College in 1889.

Jadunath's student life at Rajshahi had a minimum of comforts. He still remembers with a sigh his only delicacy for tiffin *do-paki-mudki* (parched rice twice boiled in new *gur* or sugarcane). This accounts for his partiality for extra-sweet and less expensive delicacies, which a Calcutta cockney cannot stand even. He prefers even now fresh *jilebi* and *barfi* (Hindustani *kalakand*) to the much prized *sandesh* of Calcutta or *halua-sohan* of Delhi, which after all cannot be as sweet as his *do-paki-mudki* of Rajshahi.

(4)

In June, 1889, Jadunath, while convalescing after a severe attack of Malaria, was admitted as a boarder in the Eden Hindu Hostel and as a student in the Third Year class of the Presidency College. The sickly boy started with a determination to fight out Malaria that had deprived him of his due in the last F. A. Examination. Fortunately enough, one of his roommates was a good sportsman and an indifferent scholar—Suresh Chakravarti—the goal-keeper of the Sobhabazar Football Team. At Rajshahi, Jadunath had only heard of modern games like football, hockey and tennis but had not seen any of them being played. Still he soon became an enthusiastic, if not a front rank footballer. One of his fellow-boarders in an adjacent room a few years later gave out that Jadunath and company used to kick shots at midnight in the courtyard of the hostel and thereupon received a warning from the superintendent. Football was thus more of a medicine and an aid to study than a hobby with Jadunath. He had only one attack of Malaria at Calcutta and that was the last.

Jadunath's enthusiasm and organising capacity and not so much his reputation as a player raised him to the office of Secretary of the football team of the Eden Hindu Hostel. It was his duty to carry on correspondence, arrange matches with outside teams and provide refreshments. Refreshment in those days seems to have been very plain—beer for European players and lemonade for Indians. No tea and toasts, fruits and sweets, smoke and strong liquor were obligatory on the part of the host team as they are now. Jadunath remembers with gratitude and affection Brother Douglass of the Oxford Mission, who used to mix intimately with young collegians on the playfield and outside. He regrets that later generations did not care to take the best out of such ideal persons of character, scholarship and sympathy, sent out to India. Men like Douglass were appreciated in those days as genuine friends and teachers by the Indian young men of the nineteenth century, whose moral and mental make-up received a polish and a finish by coming into contact with them.

Jadunath's life at the Eden Hostel was happy and fruitful except on the score of badly cooked meals. The Assistant Superintendent (really book keeper) of the hostel in his time was Babu Keshab Chandra Roy, who, in his old age, became Mr. K C. Roy, C. I. E. of the Associated Press of India. They remained intimate friends throughout. Jadunath kept a kerosene stove on which he would boil his own milk, prepare *halua* for his tiffin and cook sea crabs to supplement his mess meal. Others in the Hostel could get four *lucis* and a little vegetable by paying one rupee extra for tiffin. However, it is a revelation that in 1890 A. D. a student could manage to be fairly comfortable spending on his seat rent, medical attendance and two full meals only Rs. 12/-/- a month, exclusive of the tuition fee of the college.

In the Calcutta of those days there were no distractions to divert the mind of students from study, no irresponsible politicians to dish out extremism and defiance of discipline, no movies even not to speak of talkies to play havoc with the morals of the youngsters. There were theatres but these were not frequented except by abandoned characters and the blacksheep of colleges. Students had not to spend much on clothes, a dhoti and a shirt, a China coat, short and loose for school-boys and at best a collared Parsi coat coming down a little above the knees for the sons of the rich, would make up a decent dress. College Square Gol-dighi was the favourite resort of students in the evening in Jadunath's time. Politics and cinema stars, smoking and gossip were not the usual relaxations in those days as they are in ours. Professors, teachers, probable questions in the coming examinations were the absorbing topics of their evening rounds.

Jadunath has not visited even once a professional Bengali theatre (with female actors) since he came to Calcutta in 1889.

Jadunath read English Literature with the famous trio, Tawney, Percival and Rowe in the Presidency College. These were names to conjure with for the cream of Bengal's intellect. Tawney in his younger days learnt Sanskrit from Mahesh Chandra Nyaya-ratna in exchange for English taught to the Pandit. The Pandit gave the first sample of his progress with English by saying in all seriousness, "I will eat you Mr. Tawney," when he meant only to say that he would entertain Mr. Tawney to a feast. However, Jadunath was a beloved pupil of Rowe and Percival, whom he remembers with the greatest regard and affection. In consequence of his B.A. Examination results he was awarded a scholarship of Rupees 50/- per mensem in March, 1891, and the following year, he came out of the University standing first in the First Class with record marks in M.A. English. A string of medals obtained by Jadunath is now in the custody of Lady Sarkar, and none of us had the hardihood to enquire what these medals were for.

(5)

About the last week of June, 1893, a raw young man of slim build and austere mien was found standing alone with a book near the door of the Fourth Year class room of Surendra Nath Bannerjee's Ripon College, when students in groups thronged the corridor. There was among those students my much-dreaded Headmaster, Babu Sarat Chandra Sharma, then nearing forty and with several failures to his credit in every examination. He was a full-bearded athlete having failed in his B. A. Examination twice already, and never after succeeding in passing it. But he was only a junior to other veterans in age and number of failures among his class-fellows. He told us that he took the solitary youngster in their midst to be a First Year student who had missed his own classroom. When the bell rang and students tumultuously crowded into the class, the same boy walked to the dais and started teaching with such confidence, eloquence and learning that the whole class sat mute as if spellbound. When they recovered from their surprise, a whisper passed around that he was no other than the intellectual prodigy, Jadunath Sarkar, the wonder and envy of the student community and the favourite pupil of Percival. Surendra Nath had some misgiving when he sent so young a teacher to a turbulent senior class ; and so about the middle of the period he was seen walking silently outside the classroom where nobody was seen raising his head from the desk.

Such had been Jadunath on the first day of his career, and we have no facts to hold that his later specialization in History impaired his efficiency as a teacher of languages and literature. I was not a student of Jadunath during my University career, and as such am not competent to judge his quality as a class-teacher. The curiosity of the readers on this point may be satisfied only by the Chief Minister (Dr. B. C. Roy) who was his pupil in the Patna College.

After having served in the Ripon College for about three sessions, Jadunath joined the Vidyasagar College as Professor of English and stayed there for two years (1896-1898). Meanwhile he won the Premchand Roychand Scholarship in December, 1897, and his chance for selection to the Provincial Educational Service came in June, 1898. He served only for one year as Professor of English in the Presidency College, Calcutta (June 1898-June 1899) and was then transferred to the Patna College, where the need for the reorganisation of the teaching staff was badly felt. His first term of service in Patna was from July 1899 to June 1901. He was taken back to the Presidency College for six months (July 1901-December 1901) and returned to Patna again at the urgent cry of its Principal Dr. C. R. Wilson.

Though Jadunath had been a rolling stone ever since he left the University, he gathered enough literary moss as a writer of Bengali prose and as the illustrious author of "India of Aurangzib" (1901), before he settled down at Patna, which in fact became his second home. During his second term of office extending over fifteen uninterrupted years at Patna (January 1902—August 1917), Jadunath occupied the Chair of English for several years and then shifted on to that of History in the Patna College.

(6)

I have no first hand knowledge of Jadunath's life at Patna from 1902 to 1917, except a little learnt from others. Something came out of Jadunath many years after when he administered a censure to us on our having incautiously provoked him by complaining of the lack of funds in Colleges and Universities for decently equipping the History Section of

Libraries, and meagre opportunities in mofussil towns for higher studies and research. He told us of his own hardships at the initial stage of his historical research of the ill-equipped Library of the Patna College, which did not possess then even a set of Cambridge History of Europe. He holds to this day that opportunity does not make a man ; but it is the man who creates opportunities for himself and others. From a distance one might think that Jadunath is a child of opportunity born with a silver spoon in his mouth, and later had the great Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library at his disposal. We have yet to wait and see whether all the Libraries of India would produce even an apology of Jadunath. He is grateful to the Oriental Library at Patna, and its founder who had made this unique gift to give a preliminary start to research in Indo-Muslim History. He also added how he had managed to equip the Patna College Library by prudently spreading his budget grant over several years, and that we might do the same elsewhere if we had only earnestness and enough sense to do it.

Jadunath did not forget his football till fifty, when he was either at Patna, Banaras or Cuttack ; though not an active player, he continued to be an active organiser and a skilful referee. At the Patna College he was in charge of games for several years. He believes that the playfield gives the only opportunity to a teacher to win the affection of students, which is more effective in maintaining discipline among them than all the wealth of learning and gift of oratory. The very purpose of academic life, he continues, is lost if a close personal relation does not grow up between the teacher and the taught outside the class room and on the playfield.

Though a householder Jadunath till now has not given up his old mess habits of self-reliance, having been always the least-served man though with more than one servant for every member of his own family. As regards his social life, he himself tells us that "no gentleman twice crossed his threshold at Patna when he was engaged in writing the History of Aurangzib." Though he was held in the highest esteem by all, young and old, and saluted from afar, nobody came to his house twice. This is no exaggeration ; because what I have seen of him in later years convinced me that a call at Jadunath's in the morning except under engagement was uninviting if not a risk. Jadunath does not take pride and pleasure in keeping a visitor waiting for hours nor does he make use of the device of switching "Out" at the door while very much present within. He had only one measure of courtesy for all kinds of people, the same straight-tongued economy of words in talk with all, and the same abrupt "Namaskar" saying good-bye to everybody when the business part of the interview was over.

The only one and the last friend of Jadunath at Patna with whom he was on visiting terms, was Mathur Nath Singh, B. L., to whom Jadunath had taken me once as a favour during his last tenure of service at Patna (October 1923—August 1926). He was then a fat ebony-black old man of genial smile, good humour and of "white" heart though a lawyer by profession. It so happened, thus runs an authentic story, that on one occasion Mathur Babu appeared as a defence counsel in a sessions case while Jadunath was serving as the foreman of the jury. Since that evening till the conclusion of the case Jadunath studiously avoided Mathur Babu and if they happened to pass each other in their usual evening walk in the *maidan*, Jadunath would shoot past with repelling reserve. Honesty of conduct and complete obedience to law have been a principle and habit with Jadunath. In another sessions case at Patna he as the foreman of the jury allowed himself to be detained for a considerable part of the summer vacation which he used to spend at Darjeeling. Such has always been his uncompromising and inconvenient sense of civic duty.

During this period the Indian struggle for independence, both constitutional and revolutionary, was in full swing and from Rabindranath and Acharya Prafulla Chandra Roy down to every vaunting nonde script our people figured in the Police records. Prafulla Chandra used to say that he had stolen a march over C. I. D. by becoming a C. I. E., and they say Jadunath also stole a similar march several years after Prafulla Chandra by being made a C. I. E. (January 1926). Jadunath's Economics of British India (March 1909) was equally popular with examinees and revolutionaries even in our own days for its vigorous broadside against British exploitation.

(7)

Jadunath left Patna with a lien on his Government post at the call of Sir Sundar Lal (Vice-Chancellor) in August 1917, and joined the Banaras Hindu University as Professor and Head of the Department of History. It was a fairly difficult job to organise a newly started University. To Banaras he took his love for sports and his organizing capacity made him extremely popular on the playfield. Perhaps at Banaras he missed a Mathur Babu even more than the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library. However, he soon found at Banaras a kindred soul in the venerable old Orientalist, Bhagvan Das ji (father of Shri Prakashji and Chandrabalji, Governor of Bombay and the Speaker of the U. P.

Legislative Assembly respectively, the latter having been a pupil of Jadunath at the University). Besides teaching, Library and Sports were taken up by Jadunath for reorganisation and revitalization. He himself used to recruit players for teams and act as a referee in matches. He made a long-term plan of equipping the History Section of the University Library on a broad basis for general utility as well as for research.

Jadunath's high fame as a historian at last made the then Bihar and Orissa Government uneasy when it amounted to a public scandal that an educationist of his calibre had long been kept in the Provincial cadre while fresh graduates from England were being recruited for the higher Indian Education Service. In 1918 Jadunath's promotion to I.E.S. was gazetted, and this too not without a sting. He was posted to Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, as a Professor of History and English Literature. Meanwhile Jadunath's short experience of the irritating politics of a politician's University made him equally uneasy at Banaras. So he preferred an exile to Cuttack to the pinpricks of intriguing nondescripts in the University. He took up his new appointment in the Ravenshaw College in July 1919 after twenty-four months' sojourn in "the City of the dead and the dying".

(8)

There was a stir in the literary circle of Cuttack when Jadunath joined the Ravenshaw College in July 1919. There he found much of sincerity and good will and much less of politics than at Banaras. But the burden of his work became heavier. In addition to History and English Literature, he volunteered to teach Bengali when it was introduced as an optional subject in the college. Historical research received a fresh impetus. He picked up earnest workers to start researches in the history of Orissa. Some of those who had been either his pupils or his casual students are today in the fore-front of researchers and educationists of Orissa.

Cuttack was a place of much fewer comforts than Patna or Banaras. It was then a miserable town of dusty roads, dilapidated houses, dry fish and dirty menials devoid of scruples. Only third-rate foodstuff was then available in the market; gritty rice, condemned *dal* (pulses) and blackish country salt unfit for consumption by bipeds elsewhere. To make the matters worse, Jadunath had not taken his family with him to Cuttack except his youngest son, Satyen Babu, in early teenage. So Jadunath's household was a sort of mess of hangers-on with himself to pay and find everything for them. About a year's experience of hardship when he had to bring rice, *dal* and salt from Calcutta for us all during his monthly trips to attend the meetings of the Executive Council of the Patna University and without none to look after his comforts, he must have realised what he owed to our "mother" as an aid to research by keeping him physically fit and relieving him of petty vexations in keeping a house.

Jadunath came from this time onward under the close observation of a pupil, the writer of this paper, whom he had picked up from Calcutta for training in historical research. Even in the midst of his engrossing literary preoccupations he was very strict and methodical in account keeping. In a corner of his library was lying in a heap *khatas* of the size of one-eighth of a foolscap sheet, each containing a month's bazar account in Patna and Banaras for about two decades! What he denied himself in physical comforts he would liberally provide for others.[1]

We have hardly known any other master labouring and spending so much of his time and money in training up novices in historical research and giving them a start in life. His method is his own. He never believes in narrow specialisation till the novice has read widely in and around his subject and acquired a general acquaintance with the standard works of master writers, particularly Western. The first book he gave me to read when I went to reside with him at Cuttack was Gooch's *History and Historians of the Nineteenth Century*. I could only guess later on that this book was meant to cure me of my raw patriotic bias and communal feelings if any, and of the temptation to cater to political prejudices. A discussion followed regarding the merits of different schools of History treated by Gooch. The Prussian School appealed most to me first as a nation-making agency. Slowly I was weaned over to Ranke's school by being told that truth and not passing utility is the aim of honest research. Every afternoon he would enquire about my progress, take me out with him in his evening walk and have my meals with him talking nothing but history. Once he ordered me to condense a chapter of 42 pages in manuscript to seven pages only. Six times over I wrote and rewrote it, growing desperate at my failure. I even thought of flying from Cuttack giving up the hopeless job, and at last I succeeded in my seventh attempt. This, however, served as a severe lesson for my faults of verbosity, superfluity and of groping in the blind lane from which a novice suffers at the start. Jadunath's library was equipped like a laboratory for research in Indo-Muslim history. One could find everything near at hand, detailed maps, gazetteers, reference books and even a postal index, besides every useful history in print or transcript or manuscript.

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[1] In the morning he used to take only an apology of *sharbat* prepared of three fourths of a tea cup of water with two tea spoonfuls of sugar and the juice of one-fourth of a small *kagazi nimbu* (lemon) ; whereas elsewhere we were having sweets and more than one cup of tea. His cook used to drink off milk even from Jadunath's share and make up the deficiency with hot water. Jadunath ordered one-quarter of a seer of extra milk for the cook, but he would not stop mixing water. Finding no other remedy we bought a good cane without his knowledge, and used it on the servant with effect during his absence in the college. And it was his habit not to hear any complaint by servants against us.

Jadunath had the utmost hatred for mice and they were to be destroyed at sight. Sometimes he would call us beaters in the hunting of rats in his library. We three juniors were to stir out and drive the rats from corners towards the door where Jadunath stood ready with a hockey stick, and no rat escaped him alive.

We found him regular in everything except his hours of sleep, which seemed to be at his command. He would make up his quota of eight hours in the morning or at noon on Sundays if he missed it at night. Sometimes his library wore the appearance of a place just sacked by an invisible spirit at night, volumes taken down from shelves and scattered on the floor, maps spread out and the table groaning under the load of books. They were to lie there in that condition sometimes for a fortnight till he would finish his chapter and himself restore them to the right places. There were two things in his library that amused and puzzled us ; one was an office basket the age of which could not be determined, because time had changed its colour and taken away the bottom of it, which was replaced by a thick piece of paste board. This basket was a sort of holdall for everything he might need during his hours of work ; rusty needles, pins, clips, bits of thread and twines, sealing wax, candles, gum bottle, seal and sundries. We were allowed to take things out of it provided that these were put back afterwards. He would not allow any waste of even waste paper ; those with one side clean he preserved and used for scribbling notes and first drafts ; twines of book-posts and parcels went into his basket and wrapping papers had their own place and utility. The other was a covered enamel pot which we had not the courage to uncover.

Jadunath at Cuttack was a wonder and a tale to the admiring public who could see him only from afar. It comes to us from an authentic source that even science students innocent of History and Literature stealthily slipped into his class to hear his lectures. He cannot be claimed as an orator in the land of Surendra Nath and Bipin Chandra Pal. Whatever he spoke appeared to be a finished work of art to intellectuals coming out in graceful flow and with the vision of a seer. His students also acquired a sort of prestige in the eyes of others, and anything they would say about the great master became the talk of the town. On those who lived with him he left an unforgettable impression[1].

Unsparing to himself Jadunath was charitable for the weaknesses of others. One of his research pupils, a notorious back-bencher during his school and college days and accustomed to sleep during two midday periods was once caught sleeping when the Master happened to return from college before time. Since then at Cuttack, Patna and Darjeeling Jadunath used to walk tiptoe into his pupil's room when he found him sleeping comfortably after midday meal. He suffered his own occasional physical ailments silently and treating them himself without calling any of us for any service, and we could not muster sufficient courage even to inquire. One night in his new quarters at Chauliyagunj, Cuttack, Jadunath and other members of his family could not have any sleep without mosquito curtains, which were there but not their bamboo poles. Next evening after his usual walk with his pupil (the writer) along the embankment of the Mahanadi river, descending darkness reminded him of mosquitoes. He at once went to the bamboo market, purchased eight 12 feet long bamboo poles, and asked his pupil to fetch a coolie. But in the city of idlers, no coolie, however hungry, would care to be seen for hire after dusk. Jadunath seeing no other way out took up two bamboos and asked his pupil whether he could carry the remaining six. This was enough and the pupil walked behind the master with all the eight bamboos on his shoulders back to house with unsophisticated indifference to the gaze of decently dressed Babus. None however dare volunteer any service in the household without his express permission.

(9)

Cuttack had its joys and sorrows for Jadunath, who after four years was transferred to his old favourite place, Patna, in October 1923. He had his own house at Bhikna Pahari with a large compound reputed to be a haunted place. About 20 yards from the main building was a long rectangular block to accommodate his library and serve as a dormitory for his gentlemen-at-letters. Mathur Babu was still alive to enliven his otherwise dry life of a literary recluse. We had opportunities to know more of Jadunath as a man in his old surroundings. His was a strong personal rule outside the Home Department of our "mother". He would look to everything for himself even down to supervising the labour employed for renovation and extension of the library block. Apparently he seemed not to know anything of us ; but now and then we were taken by surprise. For three successive evenings he beat up our dormitory for securing audience for Patna University Readership lectures on the aborigines of Chhota Nagpur by no less a reputed authority than Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy. He told us that it was his experience that in such lectures except the speaker and the president hardly a third soul was to be expected.

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[1] He remained a gentleman to his valets even, never smiling and talking but the minimum, never to be seen in an unofficial mood except at the time of meals. Even his children could not approach him freely. He never took us to task except by assuming silence in the midst of conversation when anything inappropriate would escape our lips. We dreaded his silence much more than a bulldog fears the whip of the trainer.

There was perhaps a strict order that our quota of afternoon refreshments should reach the dormitory before 4 p. m. One day he himself brought four half-plates of refreshment for us to the dormitory and gave me one rupee saying, "If by 4 p. m. you do not get your refreshment from within my house, buy *jilebi* for you all." His youngest son, Satyen Babu, who spent most of his time with us in the dormitory, began to watch the hand of the clock 15 minutes before 4 p. m. and then cried out, "One minute past 4 p. m., give me the rupee and let us have hot *jilebi*." Sometimes it would happen that our regular refreshments and the purchased *jilebi* reached us almost simultaneously a few minutes after four, and we consoled ourselves with the plea that we did not dare violate our patriarch's command. We had a jolly time with our researches and care-free life under his roof wherever he went.

(10)

At last the day of emancipation from paid service, a yoke after all howsoever exalted, came, and brisk preparations went on in the Patna College to bid him farewell. So far as routine work is concerned there is no last day with Jadunath ; but the students had felt sure that he would not be taking his classes on that day. But he started as usual for the college with his books, took every class to the last minute with unperturbed composure and without any reference to his retirement, signed off his charge at 4 p. m., and then only turned to customary courtesies of bidding good-bye to his college. When the farewell party was over after dusk he walked straight to the library, put his books on the table and asked me to put a chair outside. He felt as much joy and relief as if he had been released from prison and said, "What a relief from the trouble of dressing and undressing for office from tomorrow ! I felt teaching not one-tenth as exacting as ever-present anxiety for punctual attendance and the botheration of dressing under compulsion." Then he fell into a pensive mood and said, "Where are they with whom I had started my career ?"

Jadunath had been declared Vice-Chancellor-designate of the University of Calcutta before his retirement. One Saturday evening was fixed as the time of his departure for Calcutta. This inauspicious moment according to our deep-rooted Bengali superstition made me uneasy, and at last I ventured to submit whether he might not start next evening. He smiled and said, "Why? Is it because this is Saturday?" He shared none of our superstitions, nor any of our weaknesses; and this was the reason why his personality like that of Aurangzeb inspired more of awe and admiration than affection among his children and devoted servants.

(11)

The Vice-Chancellorship of the Calcutta University though honorary exacted much more from Jadunath in physical and mental strain than his thirty years' service as an educationist. He began with his wonted industry and thoroughness working at his desk from 3 to 8 p.m., which no Honorary Vice-Chancellor before and after him ever did. The ministerial staff so long accustomed to indiscipline and evasion, sighed for the old regime when Jadunath, unsparing of himself, prodded them to stop the rot. The Examinations of this University from paper-setting to tabulating had become an open scandal, which, therefore, became a pressing concern. Jadunath's reforms in this field, though wholesome, did not prove enduring. He set about demanding arrears of tuition fees from students[1] and trying to restore the financial solvency of the University by economy in various ways. But the old Tudor personal rule could not be reformed in two years.

However, it was fortunate for him and unfortunate for the well-wishers of the country that Jadunath refused to continue as Vice-Chancellor after two years when continued residence at Calcutta began to tell upon his health. He then settled permanently for 13 years in Darjeeling. While at Patna Jadunath had purchased a plot of land on the Tonga Road, and spent a large sum in building on it a commodious house for his library and family. He had a mind to name it "Jetavan" after the Buddhistic legend and procured a paris-plaster replica of the scene of the gift of that garden to Lord Buddha as found at Bharhut.

But at the age of seventy he began to find the high altitude of Darjeeling oppressive to his lungs, and therefore stopped visiting that town from 1941 onwards. In 1954 the building and lands were sold to the Everest Conqueror, Tensing Norkay Sherpa.

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[1] I had not paid three months' tuition fees for my B. L. Third year class. Fortunately he chose to retire from office before the plan materialised.

Since 1940 he has been living in a new house built by himself at 10, Lake Terrace in South Calcutta, five minute's walk from the Dhakuria Lakes.

At about 6 p.m. on the eve of the King-Emperor's Birth Day in the year 1929, when Jadunath had come out to the open terrace, a Government House bearer in livery came and handed him a big embossed envelope. Jadunath pocketed the letter after reading it and silently paced the avenue of pines in the compound. But in the ladies' corner of the house brisk speculation and great excitement went on about the contents of the letter. Before the night meal when Jadunath returned to their rooms came mother's opportunity. She asked him, "I hear that you have become something. Is it true ?" "Yes", he replied in good humour, "from today people will call you Lady Sarkar."

There was no jubilation openly in the household nor any beating of drums from outside, but only a heavy feast after 3 days which we exacted from mother on this occasion.

(12)

Jadunath, they say, is a misanthrope, a melancholy recluse, who has preferred books to men all through his life. It will be unfair to dismiss this indictment as born of malice, though it might be an ex-parte decree against one who has kept his heart a sealed book with studious effort. In truth he loves man no less than books. But his love of man is a closely guarded secret, whereas his love of books borders on a passion that has cost him a considerable portion of his modest income, and much of personal comfort. He spends money beyond his means in getting valuable Persian Mss. copied in a beautiful hand and bound, whereas he could not be persuaded to buy a new shaving razor, being content with his old one after eighteen years' service. On a journey he puts books and manuscripts carefully wrapped up in his suitecase, whereas trousers and coat go with the bedding, as was noticed once by Mrs. R. C. Majumdar, whose guest he happened to be in Dacca. In Darjeeling and elsewhere too he used to keep his manuscripts always in his bedroom. It so happened that on one occasion his bundle of fresh arrivals invaded the narrow passage to the kitchen and dining room of his Darjeeling house. This at last brought a thunder from Lady Sarkar who asked whether his books meant to turn out human inmates into the street. He used to take a periodical stock and dispense with non-essential books giving these away in gift to schools and colleges. He does not lack charity, if he is convinced that his books will be better utilised elsewhere. He purchased Portuguese histories of India worth about Rs. 300/-/- and later made a gift of the whole lot to the Dacca University Library, where his pupil happened to serve. Today his library which has proved the nursery of research in Indo-Muslim history for three generations, wears a sorry spectacle in spite of its growing size. He has not allowed any servants to dust and clean his books, which he was seen to do himself occasionally helped by his pupils. He knows the exact place of every book on the shelves, and he feels annoyed when any book is misplaced. No neglect but sheer unwieldiness has brought his library to this sorry condition. It is nevertheless his joy and pride, nay the only consolation of his tragic life.

(13)

Few people, so goes our impression, have ever seen or heard Jadunath in his lighter veins. Those who had occasion to meet him in suffering and bereavement have found him to be a heroic character rare in old age. Once he was confined to bed for three montns with his broken knee cap. A friend of mine Dr. Mahmud Husain one day visited him and found him active and cheerful in his sickbed as if nothing had happened. When their conversation turned round the Wahabis, the subject of Dr. Husain's research, Jadunath took out a pencil and a piece of paper from beneath his pillow and wrote out a full bibliography on the Wahabis in India in a few minutes which would have taken any other man as many weeks to prepare it. He has only one way of forgetting the world and its miseries, namely, work, harder work.

From his writings, utterances and conduct in life nobody can exactly guess his religious convictions. There was a time when orthodox Hindus branded him as an unconverted Brahmo Smajist in ideas, and Brahmos suspected him to be a tough Hindu in the garb of an intellectualist. In his writings and criticism he has been bitter against caste-ridden society and the senseless superstitions of popular Hinduism, and somewhat lenient to Islam and Christianity, the good points of which he has not failed to admire even to the irritation of Hindus. Similarly, he has not shown any softness like his noble friend Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai to the Marathas, and the nationalists of Maharashtra are rudely shaken in their dream of the Hindupad Padshahi by his relentless analysis of the defects of their national character.

But his severity and plain speaking is not that of an enemy but of a lover of the Maratha people disappointed at their political failure to achieve the high mission for which they were destined. However, he is in general a sincere conformist and it is his rule not to offend the susceptibilities of any creed by his personal conduct. We have seen him taking part in the "Son-bhandar loot" festivity of Maharashtra on the Dassera evening at Kamshet quite seriously, and even a few months back at eighty our no teen-ager more gleeful than he in witnessing the submersion of the idols of Durga at Lucknow, or more serious in having a sprinkling of waters of peace seated in the company of his grandchildren.

Jadunath loves those that serve humanity irrespective of caste and creed, and therefore his religious charity goes generally to the Ramakrishna Mission. The old knight stiff in his literary hauteur and seemingly devoid of any sentiment falls into raptures when he speaks of Sister Nivedita and warms up in genuine admiration at the mention of the name of Vivekananda. He is not a devotee of any mortal born of mother's womb, believing neither in incarnations nor prophets.

However, there lies hidden somewhere in Jadunath the spring of *Ab-i-Hayat* (water of life), that keeps the old knight of many scars of woe and bereavements still green and erect at eighty-seven. What is it that sustains a life otherwise unbearable, and sustains it with undiminished mental vigour in Jadunath ? This is perhaps the spirit of his father and his father's Vaishnavism, too lofty, too sublime to be comprehended by lesser beings. Jadunath has offered a perennial oblation of peace to the soul of his father by writing in English *Life and Teachings of Chaitanya*, which is more widely read outside Bengal than any other work of his. We had occasions to notice that Jadunath's patience with Vaishnava visitors in Patna and Cuttack, and his deep religious calm when he took me and Maharajkumar Raghubir Sinhji of Sitamau with him in a trip to Mathura, Brindavan, Gokul and Govardhan. At Govardhan he could not escape the importunities of priest to pour milk on the idol of the hill-lifting Girdhar Lalji and deputed me to do the needful for the welfare of us all the three, spending one anna for each. I did everything with due reverence, but found my woollen socks missing from outside the temple. God knows whether the master or the pupil was the wiser. At Darjeeling while hurrying from a tea party at his house to preside over a meeting of the Hari Sabha he forgot to take off his necktie in the change-over to *dhoti* and *chadar* indicating perhaps which way the wind of his spiritual allegiance blew, even after making a due allowance to his anxiety to be punctual in every function.

(14)

Jadunath is known to be a man of strong likes and dislikes, highly sensitive, uncompromising and unyielding, and sometimes even rude in his dealings with an unworthy man. But whenever he either forms an opinion about a person or deals with a man, he thinks and behaves with full consciousness and without fear.

A man is known, they say, by his friends—a clue to character that fails in Jadunath's case ; because he never perhaps could have a friend according to the orthodox Sanskrit connotation of the word, *i.e.* a dear one on terms of reciprocity with regard to giving and taking, telling and asking each other's secrets. It is not because of any lack of chivalry on the part of the old knight, but because his own self is capacious enough to hold his joys and sorrows without any need of a kindred soul to catch their overflow. The only exception to this remark is Dr. Govind Sardesai, the foremost historian of Maharashtra, with whom Sarkar has been on the closest terms of intimacy for full fifty years, the two travelling together, living together, and conducting joint literary work year after year, so that *Sarkar ani Sardesai* has become a byword in the Deccan.

Jadunath suffers from a sort of lofty loneliness of spirit, which is his own creation. For Rabindranath Jadunath perhaps had esteem and affection bordering on sentiment, because we once saw him carrying for the poet in Darjeeling some sweets prepared by Lady Sarkar. He was on intimate terms with Acharya Prafulla Chandra, the bachelor patriarch of three generations of Indian Chemists. One good service rendered to the venerable and eccentric scientist by Jadunath was that he could dissuade Prafulla Chandra from his dear project of delivering a broadside of history against the British regime in India for which he had been enthusiastically collecting all available anti-British historical literature of patriotic foam and half-truths. Sir Jadunath and Lady Abala Bose were also known to have shared Jadunath's regard and affection. With the renowned Journalist Ramananda Chatterjee his relations had a touch of sentiment. Unlike many persons in high stations in life Jadunath had never been a snob in the choice of acquaintances. His grandchildren report that the old man sometimes hums a *sloka* or tune to himself. There is undoubtedly a Stoic rythm of life in him, which is outwardly so hard, severe, passionless and remote. In him fire is a kindly light and at times a fierce flame too.

Jadunath Sarkar as a Historian

By

K. R. QANUNGO, M. A., Ph. D.

(1)

It is approximately correct to say that the historiography of Medieval India begins with Al-Beruni and Kalhana. Al-Beruni stands even to this day as an arch-type of what a student of Indo-Muslim history should be-sober, critical and yet sympathetic. Kalhana set an example of writing a regional and dynastic history on a comprehensive scale with an independence rare among court chroniclers of later times. But their examples were not followed up. History became a handmaid of courts and kings. Historians of the pre-Mughal period were exclusively Muslim who wrote with an eye to court patronage and the applause of the orthodox. However, they did not wilfully falsify facts though religious bias was strong. Among the Hindus, historical tradition was kept alive in the twelfth century by the Raso literature of Rajasthan, Sanskrit panegyrics (*e. g. Prithviraja-Vijayam*), dramas, and the unwritten bardic tales.

The age of Akbar was the golden age of historiography. Abul Fazl was its hero unsurpassed for centuries later in scholarship, moral purity, catholicity of mind and a secular outlook on history though an imperialist to the core. Abul Fazl's *Akbarnama* with its supplement *Ain-e-Akbari* was, in design and spirit, a literary reflex of the idealism of his unlettered patron and friend, Akbar the Great. Though he lacked the critical acumen and freedom of his great predecessor, Al-Beruni, Abul Fazl followed the path of Al-Beruni in his study of the early history and cultural heritage of India, a revival which was for the first time seriously attempted by Akbar. Akbar under the advice of Todarmal made Persian the official language of the Mughal Empire. This was a momentous step in the sixteenth century like the introduction of English as the official language of British India in the nineteenth century. Persian remained no longer an alien language of the unclean *malechhas*. Hindus soon mastered Persian, and within a century equalled if not excelled the Indian Muslims in their literary skill in Persian. What was most important, Hindus caught the contagion of love for history from the Muslims. Ishwardas Nagar in the reign of Aurangzeb was the first Hindu historian of Aurangzeb as Sir Jadunath is in the present century.

(2)

Bengal had been the land of poetry, jurisprudence and logic in ancient times, but not of history and historians ; and so did her cultural tradition remain in the middle ages. Hidus of Bengal could not boast of a history like *Rajatarangini* in their days of independence. Sandhyakar Nandi's *Ramacharitam*, a historical panegyric and that too in subtle metaphor, is the only work to Bengal's credit. It seems the soil of Bengal was unsuited to history. Even the Muslims of Bengal took the path of Hindus turning away from history which was flourishing so luxuriously in other parts of India. A phenomenal change came upon Bengal under the impact of British civilization. She became the seed plot of the Indian Renaissance, of the Reformation and of the Revolution as well.

The historiography of Modern India dates from the establishment of British rule in Bengal. Muslims as well as Hindus turned to reconstruct the history of Bengal, everyone within his own sphere under the guiding English genius. *Riyaz-us-Salatin, Tarikh-e-Bangala*, and Hamidullah Khan's *Tarikh-e-Chatgam* were the first fruits of Muslim scholarship and enthusiasm ; and Ram Ram Basu's Bengali biography written in the first decade of the nineteenth century was the first Hindu attempt at historical composition in prose. We need not follow the subsequent phases of progress in this direction which did not perhaps determine the career of Sir Jadunath as a historian.

(3)

Sir Jadunath has not revealed the forces that weaned a student from English literature to Indo-Muslim history. We only learn this much from a radio talk of his (later on published in the Bengali Journal, *Prabasi*) that it was his father who implanted a love for history in his young mind, and that it was through the gate of Western history that he had entered the field of historical researches in Indian History. This is understandable as Jadunath once remarked that he had to read the Italian historian, Sismandi, to appreciate Dante better. European history, therefore, preoccupied him as an essential subsidiary of English literature, apart from its being one of the subjects of his Honours course of the University of Calcutta. This is in our opinion the most potent influence in the make-up of Jadunath as a historian. If Jadunath stands out today as an individualist, unique and unparalleled for insight and farsight into different ages and epochs of world history of which history of India is but a chapter, he owes it to his early grounding in European history and to intellectual discipleship to the great historians of nineteenth century, Ranke and Mommsen, Acton and Maitland, Macaulay and Gibbon. Had Jadunath started with Indian history only, he like some other illustrious historians of our country, would not have been able to take a detached view of men and matters, or to cultivate the calm disinterested judicial temper on which historical science depends. He always impressed on his pupils that any specialisation which is not broad based on a decent amount of general knowledge of the subject as a whole is bound to miscarry in the field of Humanities.

(4)

It is common knowledge that Sir Jadunath Sarkar did not take his M. A. degree in History, though he took first class Honours in it at the B. A. stage. He started his career as a teacher of English literature and not of history, and his allegiance to literature is almost sentimental even to this day. This may appear rather embarrassing to the present generation. We know of some bright scholars of English literature who taught history exclusively and with eminent success up to the highest university standard, though they did not write history. The fact is that in Jadunath's days students of English literature were required to read more of European history than students read today for their M. A. degree in History. Jadunath like his younger contemporary G. M. Trevelyan at Harrow, a truant from the classics to History, might as well say, "Shakespeare and Milton, Keats and Tennyson" meant to him "quite as much as Gibbon and Macaulay, Carlyle and Ruskin." Though aware of the shortcomings of Macaulay as a historian, Jadunath seems to have been under the spell of Macaulay as a stylist. As a master of vigorous historical prose Macaulay and not Gibbon must have been his model, though both were inimitable. The other favourite author of Jadunath was Green, sections from whose *Short History of the English People* he would read aloud before starting any new chapter of his books. Sir Jadunath's *History of Aurangzib* and his *Fall of the Mughal Empire* reveal that Macaulay and Green were for narration. Irvine seems to be another historian who deeply contending in him besides Napier influenced Jadunath's style and method of writing in the early stages.

(5)

Jadunath required a terra firma of history as distinguished from prosaic archaeology, epigraphy and numismatics to suit his literary genius. He preferred the Muslim period on account of its wealth of historical literature and a virgin field for digging in for new materials, ancient India being rather barren of bona fide political history. He chose Aurangzeb as the subject of his life's work. At the start it was a hazard and a speculation for the young scholar. He was a Hindu, and no other Hindu after Ishwardas Nagar and Bhimsen Burhanpuri in the reign of Aurangzeb had ventured to write anything original on Aurangzeb. Jadunath clearly realized the immensity of the task in view of the fact that almost all the sources were available in Persian and Marathi both of which he did not know. If the challenge was extremely formidable, Jadunath's preparation was equally strenuous and well-planned, and everything in him was movement and zeal. He began Persian from the alphabet, and gradually learnt enough to tackle the Persian chronicles in manuscript. Jadunath's *India of Aurangzib: its Topography, Statistics and Roads*, published in 1901, was a surprise to his contemporaries, and at once hailed as a model of neat and exact scholarship.

A few years after a political storm burst over Bengal and rapidly spread all over India with the Bengal Partition of 1905 during the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon. A wave of anti-British feeling filled every genuine heart, and Jadunath could not but have a shaking. He was, however, the most moderate of his family. His more inflammable younger brother, Bijaynath, B.A., C.E., after a conflict with his British superiors in the Central Provinces, lost the post of the Executive Engineer, and took to Swadeshi with full ardour. Jadunath prepared a sober broadside which hit the British Indian Government at its weakest spot, namely its economic policy. His *Economics of British India* came out in 1909 and received a warm welcome throughout India from general readers and students of economics alike for its irrefutable logic and the charm and vigour of its style. Down to our college days (1918) our classmates used to commit passages from his book to memory and recite them to fan the patriotic fire of the sluggered amongst us. This book went through four editions, till the author himself withdrew it from the market when History made it impossible to keep himself up-to-date with Indian Economics. Though Jadunath's book was a vigorous attack on British economic policy in India, Sir Theodore Morison appreciated the courage and independence of the author of *Economics of British India* no less than his "conscientious investigation of detail".

(6)

Jadunath's first two volumes of Aurangzeb came out in July 1912. These volumes were at once acknowledged as the "best authority" on the subject. The author was complimented for "his manner of treating the subject (which) might as well serve as a model to writers dealing with periods of Indo-Musalman history". (*Sir E. D. Ross*) Maulana Shibli, an ocean of Islamic learning, in spite of his differences of opinion with Jadunath, was generous enough to acknowledge the value of his work and help him in tracing the manuscript of *Haft Anjuman* in Banaras. In order to understand a Muslim one must understand Islam, and the key to Islam lies with Islamic history. Jadunath spent a couple of years over Islamic history and culture outside India so that he might do justice to Aurangzeb who was much less an individual than an ideology that had inspired the Muslim community at every critical period. Chips from Jadunath's workshop came out in the form of *Anecdotes of Aurangzib*, *Historical Essays* (November 1912), the Persian text of Hamid-ud-din's *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri*, and as if a counterpoise in the direction of the author's inherited faith, a monograph on *Chaitanya : his Pilgrimages and Teachings*, in 1913 (afterwards *Chaitanya's Life and Teachings*, 3rd edition, 1932). Our saintly C. F. Andrews wrote of this book as "a work of surpassing value, full of human interest from beginning to end."

Four years' interval between the publication of the first two volumes and the third were years of strenuous preparation for Jadunath. The moral and religious Regulations of Aurangzeb, Jihad and Jaziya, temple destruction and the Hindu reaction were highly controversial and inflammable topics when the anti-national Muslim communalism fanned by the sinister influence of British imperialism was dreaming of a Muslim India by garbling history. The historian's mission was to discover "the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth about the past," which had unfortunately become a live issue at the time of writing the third volume and was heading for its first triumph by the Montagu Chelmsford Reforms of 1919, the year of the publication of the fourth volume of the *History of Aurangzib*. The whirlwind of political passions could not disturb the juristic equanimity of the stern historian, equally indifferent to praise and blame of any but the Illuminati of humanity.

The third volume was released from the press in 1916. It created a stir in the country. The Muslims as well as the Hindus felt aggrieved for opposite reasons. English education has done at least this much good to the intelligentsia of India that it has alerted our conscience and created for us a code of moral equity and fairness in literary criticism. Jadunath's method of putting his case in the spirit of a judge giving direction to the jury of humanity, born and unborn, came as a challenge to the Muslims, particularly so resentful of the interpretation on Islamic institutions by a Hindu. But facts spoke for themselves clearly enough, and the testimony of Aurangzeb himself corroborated by the historical evidence of equally good Muslims, created a desperate situation for the apologists of Aurangzeb.

The Hindus on the other hand suffering as much from a fever of reactionary communalism complained that Jadunath had branded the champions and martyrs of Hindu independence in the seventeenth century as rebels and robbers, to whom his pen was no more lenient than Aurangzeb's sword. Maharashtra was particularly perturbed because Jadunath was preparing to invade the realm of Maratha history in his next volume and fight the Maratha historians with their own weapons, and on their own ground. Jadunath brought out his *Shivaji and his Times* in July, 1919, and the fourth volume of Aurangzeb (dealing with the Deccan in Shivaji's and Shambhuj's reigns) in the month of December of that year. Thus Shivaji and Aurangzeb confronted each other on the shelf of reveiwers and scholars competent to pronounce judgment on them both. In the course of reviewing the *History of Aurangzib* for *History* (1922), old H. Beveridge remarked : "Jadunath Sarkar may be called Primus in India as the user of Persian authorities for the history of India. He might also be styled Bengali Gibbon." The veteran historian V. A. Smith on the eve of retirement from the field of active research commended him for "learning impartiality and critical ability" and wished him to continue his "good work of giving honest history" ! But honest history was becoming risky in India. Jadunath's treatment of the nature of Jaziya was resented by some of the faithful as unfair and inaccurate, though he had simply summed up "the agreed judgments" of Muslim Jurists without any comment of his own. But facts were so inconvenient for them that both Islam and Aurangzeb could not be exonerated in the same breath.

Jadunath has touched upon Aurangzeb's temple destruction rather lightly to satisfy historical justice. Yet there was a protest by a Muslim that Jadunath had not been fair to Aurangzeb by omitting the notice of Aurangzeb's Banaras Farman, whereby he granted certain lands to the Vishwanath Temple. Half informed critics usually do not get the compliment of a reply from Jadunath. But when the same charge was repeated at intervals he published a reply that silenced his critics for good. The Farman had been issued during Aurangzeb's struggle with Shuja just by way of a political move to win for the time being the goodwill and cooperation of the Hindus for capturing Shuja, and had nothing to do with his spirit of toleration.

Jadunath's patience with legitimate criticism is great. The Shivaji-Afzal Khan affair is an example. Professor A. F. Rahman questioned his authority and reasons for his view that the murder of Afzal Khan was a "preventive murder." As the authorities were almost evenly balanced he pursued the affair for twenty years, and added an appendix to his fifth edition of *Shivaji* (pp. 72-3), replying to his friend's criticism by producing the testimony of a good Muslim, Mir Alam, the famous Wazir of Nizam-ul-Mulk and historian, who says, "........... the Khan intoxicated with the pride of being a hero .... gripped Shivaji very hard in the act of embracing and struck him with his belt-dagger."

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Maharashtra got a mixed shock with the publication of Jadunath's *Shivaji and his Times.* Public indignation against Grant Duff, verily the greatest pioneer in Maratha history, was no doubt allayed to some extent, and the Marathas rejoined at Jadunath's irrefutable logic clenched with facts in clearing Shivaji of the charge of "the murder of an invited guest." But they were unhappy over a more heinous crime of Shivaji, namely, the acquisition of Javli "by a deliberate murder and organised treachery on the part of Shivaji" (fifth edition, p. 43). Jadunath owes much to the labours of his predecessors and contemporaries, like Khare, Purandare and Sardesai, who had been most assiduous in making almost a house to house search in the Deccan for every bit of historical papers relating to Maratha history. They started with the laudable ambition of giving their country-men a history of Maharashtra written by Marathas and for Marathas. But there was a lack of constructive historical genuius among them till Jadunath and Sardesai appeared in the field ; the former from without and with a disinterested passion for truth, and the latter from within with a broad outlook tinged only with a laudable bias for his own nation. There were others who like Goldsmith's *Schoolmaster* though defeated could argue still. A reviewer, himself an author of several histories and a reputed historian, attacked Jadunath on the Javli affair, pleading that the murder of the three Mores was prompted to found a Hindu Swaraj. (*The Mahratta*, 31 August 1924). However, better sense gradually prevailed, and the Maratha people became accustomed to stomach authentic history.

This book was well received by reviewers and critics. H. Beveridge wrote : "All his books are good ; but perhaps the best of them is the *Life and Times of Shivaji.*" Sir Richard Temple hailed this work as "indeed History treated to the right way and in the right spirit." V. A. Smith said that it was "a bold and deliberately provocative book" meriting "the closest study."

Jadunath's *Shivaji* was undoubtedly a bold and provocative invasion of a special preserve of Maratha historians. He does not try to stir up patriotic passions to white heat. The book is cool, severe, and does not show regards for people's sentiments wrought up by the memory of their past looming so magnificent beyond proportions through the magnifying coloured glass of a school of national history. Jadunath's thesis that before the rise of Shivaji there was no Maratha nation, that Shivaji failed to create an enduring state and weld together the Maratha people into a nation, and that the Marathas did not attain nationhood under the Peshwas, was the greatest provocation he gave to Maharashtra chauvanists. He is no pessimist. He has rehabilitated Shivaji in all his real glory in the heart of every patriot throughout this sub-continent. In the midst of political gloom Shivaji came as a ray of hope for Hindu India. The real significance of Shivaji's life according to him is that he "has shown that the tree of Hinduism is not really dead, that it can rise beneath the seemingly crushing load of centuries of political bondage...... ; it can put forth new leaves and branches ; it can again lift its head up to the skies." (*Shivaji*, p. 390)

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Five years intervened between the publication of volume IV and volume V of Jadunath's *History of Aurangzib*. These were years of strenuous activity. Besides the completion of the last volume of Aurangzib he had to undertake the editing and publication of Irvine's *Later Mughals* at the request of his daughter. He was at sea with the mass of papers and notes bristling with dates and references, many of them beyond his immediate reach. And he was not accustomed to take anything on trust where history was concerned. So he had to get photos and transcripts of all the original authorities with a margin of fifty years ahead of the period covered by Irvine's labours. His knowledge of the Marathi, other indigenous and foreign sources was brought to bear upon the period of Irvine's specialised study which had been based on Persian sources mainly. Such a Herculean task was completed in a manner that might have been a surprise to Irvine himself if he could have risen from the grave. Jadunath checked every date, emended authorities, and clipped off unwieldy though learned foot-notes. He himself added three chapters to bring the story to the invasion of Nadir Shah (1739). On this enlarged historical canvass appeared the Sikhs and Jats, Bundelas and Marathas, with a background of the early history of each of these new factors. A man without the fine sense of literary proportions possessed by Jadunath would have been lost in the wood in the attempt to edit such a book. Once Sir Jadunath humorously remarked that if he had not used his discretion in omitting much of what Irvine had written against the Sikh community, he would have been by that time become a martyr. The History of the Later Mughals came out in 1922 in two thick royal octavo volumes covering only thirty-two years' history of the Mughal Empire after Aurangzeb's death. It was admitted that "no more competent an authority than Professor Jadunath

Sarkar could have been found to edit it (Irvine's life's work)." The famous English historian P. E. Roberts said, "It drives a broad pathway through a very tangled jungle,.........clears up many disputed points, throws a flood of light on the manners, customs and characters of the time and certainly will always remain one of the chief authorities of the period... ." (*English History Review*)

With the publication of his last volume on Aurangzeb, the historian at last comes out of the wood, takes a panoramic view of it, and falls into a pensive mood of philosophic contemplation over this tragedy in five acts of the drama with Aurangzeb as its hero. He then begins to think over his country's past and future in the light of the colossal failure of Aurangzeb, "who was above the joys and sorrows, weakness and pity of mortals, one who seemed to have hardly any element of common humanity in him, who lived in the world but did not seem to be of it." In the last two chapters Jadunath assumes the stern tone of a monitor of his people, and delivers his message with the clear vision and emphasis of a seer. "If India is ever to be the home of a nation able to keep peace within and guard the frontiers, develop the economic resources of the country and promote art and science, then both Hinduism and Islam must die and be born again. Each of these creeds must pass through a rigorous vigil and penance, each must be purified and rejuvenated under the sway of reason and science." Under pressure of the public demand for a condensed account of Aurangzeb, Jadunath published a *Short History of Aurangzib.* It gave a general relief and satisfaction, and to meet the requirements of the general readers its Hindi translation was also brought out.

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Jadunath had already established fame as a brilliant essayist by publishing his *Studies in Mughal India* in 1919, and *Mughal Administration* (combined volume in 1924). His essays were pronounced "charming" and authoritative, miniature ivory caskets of fine literary workmanship. His *Mughal Administration* is a model of condensation without the sacrifice of clarity. It remains the standard book on the subject, indispensable for every student of Indo-Muslim history. Jadunath's *Studies in Aurangzib's Reign* (third edition, first in 1933) consisting of a series of essays 'of the most entertaining description" (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*) was another valuable publication. Essays on Jahanara, Zeb-un-nisa, and a Muslim heroine (Sahibji) give a glimpse of the noble womanhood of Mughal India. Other essays : *Daily Life of Aurangzib, Education of a Mughal Prince, Industries of Aurangzib's Empire, Aurangzib's Letters*, are interesting and authoritative ; while *Firingi*

Pirates of Chatgaon and the *Mughal Conquest of Chatgaon* break a new ground.

His small book of 99 pages, entitled *India through the Ages* shows his unrivalled skill in handling the telescope of history. The first three chapters dealing with the Aryans and their legacies, the work of Buddhism and its life story in India fall outside the scope of our author's special field of study. Though in the preface he explicitly disavows any claim to originality for this portion of his work, there is a freshness of outlook which we miss in the wood of Indology explored by specialists. This small book has weight and charm beyond its stature, coming in as it does as an indispensable handbook to the intelligentsia of Free India, so far as a bird's eye view of India's progress through centuries, and an insight into "the composite development of the India of the present day" are concerned. The last chapter, *How the British lost India,* strikes a balance of our loss and gain under British rule, out of thirteen points eight being in favour and five against it. He concludes thus : "………A class of professional politicians (*i. e.* persons without ostensible means of livelihood, as defined by the Bihar Government to the Simon Commission) has risen to power, and are only held back from doing incalculable mischief by a few giants at the top… … .. political detention is proclaimed as a qualification for a ministership, a coat without a collar is the symbol of true patriotism… … …Patient constructive workers for the nation's uplift are taunted with having made no sacrifice compared with the white cap patriots. Patriotism of this type is sometimes cashed into bogus joint stock banks" (pp. 98-99). Nevertheless the aged historian is a staunch nationalist but he foresees that fifty years hence "England's marvellous achievement in India will be appraised in a just balance in calm of mind, all passion spent." Here speaks out the last of the Victorian stalwarts in the Indian sub-continent. His analysis and prediction will hold water if England in her resentful mood of superiority complex does not do any greater mischief to India during the next fifty years.

If any person of scanty leisure cares to read one single book of Jadunath he should take up his *India through the Ages.* Similarly, if a specialist wants to have a peep into Jadunath's laboratory of tests and his method of processing raw materials of Maratha history, he should consult Jadunath's *House of Shivaji* (first edition 1940, third edition 1955). Its first six chapters provide a background of Maratha history and the biography of Shahji Bhonsla in the light of Bijapuri State-papers. In Chapter VII Jadunath compares the relative historical value of Persian Akhbarat discovered by him with that of "thousands of letters of Shivaji's time in the Marathi language printed by Rajwade and others... purely private legal documents...". Important court letters have also been given in translation. The Dingal letters in the Jaipur Archives supply faithful reports of "the conversations held in Ram Singh's house daily at night after his return from the Emperor's court or during the visits of Shivaji to the Kachhwaha prince.

The lives and labours of four devoted scholars and enthusiasts in Maratha history, namely, Rajwade and Sane, Khare and Parasnis, have been sketched in four brilliant essays, worthy tributes to his great fellow-workers in the field. Jadunath's technique of textual criticism finds proper scope in the fragmentary Sanskrit text of Shivaji's poet laureate, Kavindra Paramananda and an epic on Shambhaji by Govinda. A startling fact is revealed that the fall of Shambhaji was due not so much to his own worthlessness and to his evil genius Kavi—kalas, as to a religious issue between Vedic Brahmanism of Maharashtra and the newly imported Tantrik worship from Northern India since after Shivaji's second coronation. Religious jealousy blinded the patriotism of Maharashtra Brahmans, whose collusion with the Mughals accounts for Shambhaji's surprise and tragic murder. Strange are the ways of man and his history !

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Jadunath took twenty-five years to complete his *History of Aurangzib* in 1924, and the next twenty-five years to plan and execute a more difficult project, namely, the history of the fall of the Mughal Empire in four volumes. The first volume was published in 1932 and the last in 1950. As regards the relative popularity of the two works, the *Fall of the Mughal Empire* scores a higher mark even with those who are not history-minded as doctors, journalists, lawyers and businessmen. The author does not deny the fact that the writing of the *Fall of the Mughal Empire* was a harder task. First two volumes of it were comparatively less exacting than the third and the fourth. In his preface to the third volume we read : "In fact, this third volume has taken twice the time of its immediate predecessor to write, because of the immensity, variety and confused character of the historical sources on which it is based. The date of thousands of laconic Marathi despatches had to be ascertained, the textual reading and arrangement of the Persian manuscript sources had to be corrected, before a single page of my narrative could be composed."

Secondly, *Fall of the Mughal Empire* is history of a higher order than the *History of Aurangzib*, which is but a biography writ large with an ample background. Jadunath gains more in ease, humour and eloquence, shows a greater mastery over historical narrative, and a higher literary workmanship, keeping a wonderful balance between synthesis and analysis by handling the telescope and microscope of history in his *Fall of the Mughal Empire*.

Thirdly, Jadunath's *Fall of the Mughal Empire* has a wider appeal to the people of India, and also of Europe than his *History of Aurangzib*, each volume of which imparts fine shades of colour to the picturesque carpet of the evening twilight of our medieval history. Here, in these volumes, the historian is on a more severe trial with regard to his impartiality and balance of judgement as the parties concerned are too many. He has to make his award between the Mughal and the Maratha, the Jat and the Ruhela, the Sikh and the Afghan, and between the English and the French, whose long-drawn rivalry throws a chequered light on the dark recesses of this unexplored jungle of history.

This work in four volumes tells the story of the fall of two empires and the rise of the third. The historian's verdict runs thus :—"The Mughal Empire and with it the Maratha overlordship of Hindustan fell because of the rottenness at the core of Indian society. This rottenness showed itself in the form of military and political helplessness. The country could not defend itself ; royalty was hopelessly depraved or imbecile; the nobles were selfish and shortsighted; corruption, inefficiency and treachery disgraced all branches of the public service. In the midst of this decay and confusion, our literature, art, and even true religion had perished." (Vol. IV, 344-45)

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Jadunath's own work as an author has not deprived the country of his active cooperation with other historical projects. He was a collaborator in the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV to which he contributed four chapters (1937). He undertook the duties of an honorary general editor of the second volume of the Dacca University *History of Bengal*. He himself had to write ten and a half out of its twenty-six chapters, besides the bibliography. The historian thus concludes : "When the sun dipped into the Ganges behind the blood-red field of Plassey, on that fateful evening of June, did it symbolise the curtain dropping on a tragic drama ? Was that day followed by a night of eternal gloom for India... ?" Replying in the negative Jadunath says : "In June 1757, we crossed the frontier and entered into a great new world to which a strange destiny had led Bengal. May our future be the fulfilment of our past history !" Bengal's past, "as narrated in these pages, shows how the diverse limbs of the country and warring tribes and sects of the people were fused into one by the silent working of time and a common political life till at the end of the Muslim period a Bengali People had become a reality. But not yet a Bengali nation, for the pre-requisite of a nation was then wanting." (*History of Bengal*, Vol. ii, pp. 498-99)

A close perusal of the works of Sir Jadunath Sarkar mentioned in the preceding section reveals unity of conception, of theme, and of action, and an artistic literary presentation in a style that knows no immaturity of early age nor any decay at eighty. At eighty-two Jadunath began another supplementary work on the Military History of India beginning with Alexander's invasion down to the last battle fought by Wellington on the Indian sub-continent (1803). So far as one can judge from articles on this subject published in the Sunday issues of the *Hindusthan Standard*, there is no slackening vigour and poignancy of style, or in his clarity of vision and judgment. He has all through his works revealed himself as a "sage counsellor and judge" treating history as an object lesson to his people for all ages to come.

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Howorth in the intorduction to his *History of the Mongols* holds the view that the historian is an architect who need not also be a digger and stone-dresser descending into the mines of original sources. Such a view of the function of a historian may hold good in certain spheres of historical study and only in advanced countries like England, where an army of diggers into the original sources of history has been working for generations. It is particularly untenable in the case of Indian history. If a student of Indian history wants to build anything endurable, he must be a digger and explorer of new materials within reach anywhere in the world as well as an architect. India today in the field of historical research is almost in the beginning of the nineteenth century in comparison with the West. Hence our scholars have to carry on building and quarrying simultaneously, or face the risk of rearing up a thousand-pillared Hall of Rocksalt.

So far as we know of Sir Jadunath he is not content with what he has done. His ambition was to sit down in old age and edit and publish a corpus of original materials in different languages utilised by him in his constructive works. For sixty long years he has been an indefatigable digger of original materials available in the libraries and archives of India. Though he has not travelled abroad to visit famous libraries of Europe, he can legitimately claim that through the catalogues of these libraries aided by a historian's instinct he has been able to spot all the essential materials and secure these by transcripts, rotary bromide prints and photostats, as well as microfilm copies for his own use.

One of the greatest though accidental discoveries of Jadunath is Mirza Nathan's *Baharistan-e-Ghalib* from Paris library where it had been entered as a novel. This book proved to be a history written by a Mughal military officer fighting in Bengal under Jahangir's Viceroys. This discovery created a sensation. A fairly good English translation of it was published by Dr. M. I. Borah of the Uuiversity of Dacca. His next great discovery was the importance of the archives of Jaipur Darbar. He was permitted to report on the value of these papers and secure transcripts on the condition of his writing a History of Jaipur. This History of Jaipur is lying in manuscript with the Maharaja of Jaipur because of some differences of opinion between the Darbar and the historian, who declined to modify his views for making this history acceptable to the Darbar.

It may also be pointed out that Jadunath is in the habit of translating the whole or fairly large portion of every manuscript whether in Persian, Marathi, French or Portuguese that came into his hand. For example, he made full English translations of the histories of Ishwardas Nagar, Bhimsen Burhanpuri and *Maasir-e-Alamgiri*, only the last of which was published in the Bibliotheca Indica series in 1947; while bundles of slips written in ink or pencil bearing translations of other works are lying on the shelves of his library. He also edited a new up-to-date edition of Jarret's English translation of *Ain-e-Akbari* for the Bibliotheca Indica, of which two volumes have already come out.

Jadunath's project of a corpus will perhaps remain an unfulfilled ambition. Its huge expenditure is beyond his private resources, beyond the capacity even of a provincial exchequer. The only man who can do this work may not be available when our Central Government would awake to the necessity of having a corpus of Indo-Muslim history replacing the pioneer work started by Elliot and Dowson. The Government of Bombay have been most sympathetic to the suggestions of Jadunath. It was at his instance that the publication of the *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, and later on of the *Poona Residency Correspondence* and *Historical Papers relating to Mahadji Sindhia* (Persian) were undertaken by the Bombay Government. The main part of the work fell to the share of Sardesai, the greatest living historian of Maharashtra. Jadunath himself has edited Vol. I. of *Poona Residency Correspondence* (1936), Vol. VIII. (1945) and Vol. XIV; others having been done by some of Jadunath's pupils under his guidance.

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Jadunath's ambition was to found a Seminar of Historical Research on the lines of Seminar of the German historian Ranke. But twentieth century India is not even nineteenth century Europe. He used to invite students to live with him at his own expense, and pick up the technique of historical research ; but the response was poor. Then he organised a Seminar at Sardesai's residence at Kamshet near Poona in 1939, and invited students on whom he could rely for continuous devotion to clio from all over India, and gave them good grounding in the study and research in history. He forged the raw iron ore into tolerably good steel in his workshop good enough in later times to fill the chair of History at several Universities. But Jadunath is less fortunate in his pupils than Ranke none of whom having grown up even to waist high the master's stature in fame and achievements.

One of the greatest services rendered by Sir Jadunath to the cause of historical research is to pick up a Dara Shukoh from among the common run of Murads of the decadent ruling houses of Hindustan. This prince is Maharaj Kumar Raghubir Sinh of Sitamau. The Maharaj Kumar is the youngest of Jadunath's pupils, a D. Litt. of Agra University and an author of renown in English and Hindi. Dr. Raghubir Sinh spent almost his whole fortune like Dara in building up a splendid research library at Sitamau. For researches in Indo-Muslim history, Dr. Raghubir Sinh's library is admittedly a self-contained institution, better even than Jadunath's own library.

A survey of Jadunath's zeal for the discovery of original materials will remain incomplete without a notice of his work as the President of the Indian Historical Records Commission for many years since its inception. Its annual session became an institution of pilgrimage for scholars of medieval and modern periods of Indian history. It was hailed as a sort of annual stock exchange of the progress of research and discovery of historical materials. Old veterans, young budding scholars, representatives of universities and research institutions gathered there every year ; papers were read and discussed under the presidentship of Jadunath, who was the main attraction of the session. Grain was separated from chaff at its meetings, and sometimes forgeries[1] of Persian manuscripts and documents foisted on unwary scholars became exposed under the fire of Jadunath's criticism. Through these meetings a large number of young scholars from every part of India received great inspiration from Jadunath thus widening the circle of his distant pupils.

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[1] Only one example will suffice to prove this fact. Sardesai wrote to Sarkar on 23. 7. 1939 from Kamshet :—"Another great fraud is successfully detected by Saletore about the ... Firmans being all forged. An old Hindu Pandit of Gulburg well versed in Persian accepted money from the late Raja and prepared the firmans only translating what

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Outside Bengal it is not generally known that Jadunath has been a devoted student of Bengali literature, and that the nineteenth century Bengali historical prose owes much to him. His oldest research pupil was a merchant's office clerk who had not crossed the door of a college. It was a miracle wrought by Jadunath who turned this clerk into the best original researcher in Bengali and made him a prolific writer of historical books of approved worth on modern lines. This pupil of his was Brojendra Nath Banerjee, whose loss the old patriarch of many a scar mourns like the departure of a child of his own loins. Brojendra Nath's achievement in constructive historical research relating to Bengal is greater than that of Jadunath himself. A splendid monument of Brojendra Nath's critical skill and superhuman industry of many years, with the handicaps of monetary want and a desolate home, is his *Sambad-patre sekaler katha* (now in its third edition, in 2 large vols.), an indispensable book of references for any research in the nineteenth century history of British rule in Bengal. Jadunath has always given to the people of Bengal the first fruits of research, though in a fragmentary way in the form of articles in Bengali monthlies, particularly the Prabasi.

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Jadunath has no peer in his own field in India and abroad. He is pre-eminently a product of the Western School of History though his subject is Indian. His charm of style and vigorous portraiture of men and things suggest a comparison with Macaulay according to some

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was placed before him in Marathi. He did not know the historical import of what he did. He and his son met Saletore and confessed to him that the published Persian passages were his own : no wonder therefore that there are horrid anachronisms. The ... people are furious against Saletore as they got Rs. 5,000 from the late Raja and published a large vol. as authentic history. I now realize how the Raja went about entrapping every worker in history. He came to my house here and several times in Bombay and at last at my request sent you the firmans. I cannot too highly admire your prescience in refusing to pass a judgment on the papers placed before you. I fortunately escaped under your shelter. Bal Krishna is made a dupe. Saletore is soon going to expose the whole transaction with incontrovertible proof. I see how your constant caution saves many a pitfall and why you are frequently warning scholars against wanton forgeries, too common with frail humanity." (Ed.)

admirers; whereas others hold him to be the Gibbon of Hindustan for bridging the channel over the gulf between Medieval and Modern India. But he is neither a Macaulay nor a Gibbon. These two are inimitable in many respects. These three are masters of narration, each in his own way. As an essayist Macaulay wields a hatchet with the strength of a giant; whereas Jadunath handles the chisel and needle of a thoughtful stonecutter working at the Taj. In historical narrative both of them show a rare power of concentration. In producing 'effect,' Jadunath could not approach Macaulay, because the Indian lacks the impetuousity, vehemence, bias and boldness of Macaulay in taking a rhetorical jump without calculating the risk of overstatement. Jadunath never wrote for sheer effect, but always for measured accuracy. Nobody can complain that like Macaulay, Jadunath "describes but does not explain," nor can it be said that the Indian as a historian is "neither a thinker nor a prophet." If Jadunath is anything today he is the stern prophet of Free India in his writings and speeches.

Old Beveridge hailed Jadunath as as "Bengali Gibbon." But a review compliment, however sincere and just, cannot make a Gibbon of him in the estimate of the world at large. Jadunath's vast learning, the excellence of his English, and his power of drawing a magnificent background for his tragic canvass of the *Fall of Mughal Empire* impressed the greatest modern British authority on Muslim India deeply enough to elicit this high compliment for our Indian author. But there is not much in common between Jadunath and Gibbon as historians except in their skilful execution of a task of cyclopean magnitude. If Jadunath like Gibbon had written his epics of history in his own language, if he could have the advantage of Gibbon in having the raw materials dug out by generations of scholars before him, if decaying Delhi had been smouldering Rome, and above all if the historical knowledge of the present generation about Indo-Muslim history had been on a par with that of Roman history of Gibbon's contemporary Europe, then only could Jadunath have had the scope to rise to the stature of a Gibbon. Jadunath could not afford to be picturesque without being suspected and challenged at every step. He was under the necessity of letting chronicles and news-letters speak convincingly to the audience, and of always hedging himself round by a mighty array of authorities. This means interference with the even flow of narrative.

(16)

G. O. Trevelyan in his brilliant essay on *Bias in History* remarks: "The problem of bias is fundamental and all pervading. No one can teach or write history for ten minutes without coming in contact with the question whether he is aware of it or not. Because history is not an exact science but an interpretation of human affairs, opinion and varieties of opinion intrude as inevitable factors. We cannot get rid of the element of opinion (or bias) ; we can, however, edeavour to make it the right kind of opinion,—broad, all-embracing, philosophic not a narrow kind that excludes half or more of reality". (*An Autobiography and other Essays*, p. 68)

This is a homely truth honestly confessed. So, bias there must be in Jadunath also whether he is aware of it or not. Now the question is whether his bias is of the right kind or not. That Jadunath's bias is not of "a narrow kind that excludes half or more of reality" will be admitted by any sensible person, who cares to glance over any piece of his writing. This bias has not affected an objective study on approved scientific basis. It may be said that a certain amount of bias and warmth for Shivaji and Rathor Durgadas is perhaps noticeable in Jadunath. But this bias is in the right direction, and an echo of the sentiment of contemporary India for the defenders of their religion and honour against Aurangzeb's aggressive bigotry and intolerance. Similarly, his bias has been all through for Aurangzeb till he chose to assume the role of a reactionary agent of Islam, ang his ill advised policy threatened the welfare of the State and everything that the majority of subjects held dear. Aurangzeb has received more than his due by being painted as the awe-inspiring hero of a tragedy preordained by "an inexorable Fate". Between Mirza Rajah Sawai Jai Singh and Maharajah Jaswant, Jadunath's bias is for the former for his unquestioned ability. But here perhaps his bias is less justifiable ; because Jaswant's failings deserve more sympathy. In his *Fall of the Mughal Empire* his bias turns against the Marathas, particularly the ruling Chitpavan Brahmans, whose view-point he could not understand, "hundred knots in one span" of a Brahman having borne down the patience of the historian. The Abdali and Najib-ud-daulah have received higher admiration and praise from the historian who admires tact, valour and efficiency wherever they are found. The historian does not share the grief of Maharashtra after the catastrophe of the third battle of Panipat, because the historian has nothing to choose between the Peshwa and the Abdali, the Abdali having a better justification to come to the rescue of the Delhi monarchy and the Ruhelas, whose very existence was threatened by Maratha aggression from the south. Panipat was a purely political and military issue, and not a stake for the emancipation of the Hindus, most of whom in Northern India feared worse rapacity and unblushing bad faith in the event of a Maratha victory. The Sikhs and the Jats also while fighting in the cause of the country receive the historian's approbation.

Jadunath's historical characters owe their brilliancy and vivacity as well as their photographic realism to his skill in presenting them with charming make-up, an art which no master can teach his pupil, a gift endowed by nature. So we may say without exaggeration that Sir Jadunath possesses "all the sterner virtues" of a historian, which dominate his "human virtues" not to the detriment of truth. He lives today, like Ranke in the nineteenth century, as the greatest historian of India beyond comparison. Unlike Ranke, Jadunath at the age of eighty-seven has a desolate home. But his face beams when he tells his grandchildren, "I have another and older family, my pupils and their pupils." This large family is the only solace of his years of lonesome life.

Reminiscences

[1]

P. C. ROY CHOUDHURY, M.A., B. L.

(Special Officer, Revenue Department, Government of Bihar)

If a crude comparison is permissible Dr. Jadunath Sarkar may be compared to a cocoanut. That fruit has got a rough exterior and a thick crust with a sweet and nourishing kernel. A man who meets Dr. Jadunath Sarkar for the first time may come away with the impression that he is not at all sociable and that he has got certain freezing mannerisms. But if a man pursues to know him and is suffered by him to know him intimately he will find that there hardly exists a man with a softer mind and larger heart.

In the impressionable age of a young college student 34 years back the writer had the privilege of coming in contact with that great savant. At that time he was a Professor in Ravenshaw College in Cuttack. That contact was allowed by him to grow into a relationship which is one of the very valued privileges the writer has had in his life.

The very first thing that attracted me to Dr. Jadunath was the disciplined manner in which he walked to the college with books in hand, the measured way in which he spoke in the class, the precise notes he dictated and the very disciplined manner in which he conducted himself both inside and outside the class. It was a pleasure to hear Dr. Jadunath's regimented words from the chair in the debates or in lecture halls.

In 1922[1] Dr. Jadunath Sarkar led a batch of students of History from Ravenshaw College on a tour of some of the historical places in Northern India. The writer was one of the students. The love and affection which Dr. Jadunath showered on the boys of the party, the meticulous care with which he organised the trip and insisted on a certain degree of comfort for the students, the way in which he guided the boys for imbibing a spirit of historicity and particularly the parental feelings he showed when one of the boys fell ill at Rajgir weave a picture which can never be blotted out of the memory of the writer. A copy of his book that Dr. Sarkar presented to the writer after the trip for 'his devotion' is still a valued treasure with him.

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[1] Professor G. S. Das places this event in October 1923. See infra, 78. (Ed.)

His love and care for his boys was deep. His house whether in Cuttack, Patna, Darjeeling or Calcutta was always open for them. His library was at their disposal provided they conducted themselves properly. The kitchen which Lady Sarkar ran did not make any distinction between her own children and the students or the research scholars that lived in the house. That lady from within the house was a mother to the scholars living in Dr. Sarkar's house.

Sir Jadunath is one of the very few men who do not parade their kindness or their feelings for the students. By the time the writer graduated Sir Jadunath had been retransferred to Patna. While informing me of my success Sir Jadunath sent me a message that he thought Patna would be a better place for my prosecuting studies for M.A. degree. After a certain amount of hesitation the widow-mother of the writer consented and Sir Jadunath was informed about it. Sarkar sent a post card giving details of the amount of hackney carriage fare that had to be paid from the Patna railway station to his house at Bhikhnapahari in Patna, and asked the writer to come straight to his house. Sir Jadunath's house in Patna at that time had a separate wing consisting of a few rooms used as his library by him and by his research scholars. Dr. K. R. Qanungo who was then writing his book on Sher Shah, Dr. K. K. Basu, Head of the Department of History in Bhagalpur college, S. C. Sen Gupta, a research scholar from Bengal used to be in that wing where a separate room was also allotted to the writer. Every night led by a Lecturer we used to go to the main house for dinner with the Professor. After a week the writer fixed up a seat in a hostel and while taking dinner mentioned casually about it to Jadunath that he would shift to the hostel the next day. The Professor looked up in surprise and spoke slowly, "I did not know that you were inconvenienced here. I did not ask you to come to Patna to prosecute your studies for M.A. while living in a hostel." The dinner was completed in silence on the part of all of us. No one could speak as it was apparent that the Professor had got a rude shock. Next morning a message was sent through one of his children that the idea of going to the hostel had been given up. Then the writer continued an uninterrupted stay for a couple of years as an inmate of his house. How many *Gurus* of this type exist now in India ?

While writing on Jadunath thoughts come tumbling one after another. He is a man of very strong likes and dislikes. Probably he carries his dislikes to an excessive degree as it appears to the average man. But at the bottom of that dislike lies a very strong aversion for untruth, dishonesty and scissor and paste type of research. Plagiarism he hates and he is the last man to mince matters. While on the one hand he hates snobbery and a show of research, on the other hand he goes out of his way to help genuine research scholars. He never spoon-fed his scholars and students. He never denied them guidance and monetary help if necessary. There are hundreds of them today who have been actually created by him, but one never hears him parading anyone of them.

Many people probably do not know today that Sir Jadunath got his M. A. degree in English from the Calcutta Presidency College and started his career in the Department of English. The subject of History came a little later in his life, and has since then remained his passion and mainstay for existence. He would not take or rely on second hand things if it could possibly be avoided. That is why he learnt Persian and Urdu, Portuguese and French and chose as his collaborators men like Sardesai. Jadunath's passion for truth and honesty probably did not help him as an administrator when he was appointed the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University. The man whose one passion in life had been to fathom out the truth. establish the historicity of facts and to interpret them was found to be lacking in that undefined commodity known as tact. In his zeal to tone up his Alma Mater, the Calcutta University, he came in clash with what may be described as the vested interests. Sir Jadunath's career as a Vice-Chancellor will go down in history to show that a true scholar cannot always change himself into an administrator or that it is extremely difficult for a specialist to take up the role of a generalist.

To recall Sir Jadunath the picture of a Greek patriarch flashes in my mind. Life has treated him in a very cruel manner so far as domestic happiness is concerned. He has lost some of his brilliant sons and one of them was assassinated in the communal troubles in 1946. His youngest daughter who was a brilliant Science scholar was claimed by death while doing research in England. God chose to make some of his daughters early widows. But these misfortunes which would have made an average man forlorn, frustrated and probably finished touched him lightly so far as the outer world is concerned. Here is a man who stands aloft like the peak of a mountain and the world outside cannot possibly know what these mishaps meant to him. These sorrows have diverted him probably all the more to his research work. At this advanced age he diligently works for hours in pursuit of research. His methodical habits remain a wonder to the younger generation. He has hardly any time to waste. He has very little time to indulge in useless correspondence either. But like a patriarch, we know, he has still a soft heart for all those who have drawn inspiration from him sometime or other. Sir Jadunath the man is a bigger source of inspiration than Sir Jadunath the historian. But very few have the opportunity to know him as such.

[2]

G. S. DAS, B. A. (Hons.), London

(Head of the Department of History, Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, Utkal University)

My first acquaintance with Sir Jadunath Sarkar is as old as my student career in Ravenshaw College, where he served as a Professor of History from 1919 to 1923, but my admiration for him is older still. While reading in the Matriculation classes of Sambalpur Zila School in 1919, I came upon an article by him in the Central Hindu College Magazine, which left a lasting impression on my young and impressionable mind.

In Ravenshaw College, I was throughout a student of History and studied for Hons. in History. I found in him a great scholar, a perfect gentleman, and an embodiment of plain living and high thinking; and to all the alumni he appeared as an ideal. As a teacher he was most successful for he adopted his lectures to the level of all grades and classes. When he lectured to Intermediate students he interpreted the most intricate problems of history in very plain, lucid and interesting manner. With the rise in standard, the method changed. In B. A. (Hons.) and M. A. classes, his lectures displayed an unfathomable depth of his understanding and knowledge of almost all the past as well as of the latest publications on the subject. Every lecture was supplemented by exact references to a large number of books and journals, with the names of their authors and library numbers for the benefit of the advanced students. He spoke with equal ease and zeal on various aspects of history of various countries and different periods, European History, History of India, ancient, medieval and modern, British History, Constitutional History of England, History of Islam and World History.

A high priest of Clio, Sir Jadunath was equally worshipful to other Muses. Once for a short term he was called upon to teach English *Travels with a Donkey* by R. L. Stevenson and the life of Sir Philip Sydney. It was a stopgap arrangement, necessitated by the absence of the Head of the Department of English, an Englishman, Cambridge Tripos, I.E.S., having gone on furlough. We feared that Jadunath would prove a failure in that field, but to our utter surprise he impressed us to a greater degree than his predecessor. In our excited enthusiasm we often exclaimed :— "Put all the English and Indian Professors on one side of the scale and place Jadunath alone on the other and the latter will balance them,"—a statement which without any reflection on our esteemed professors, proves our youthful appreciation of the gigantic stature of Jadunath's personality and scholarship.

In trying to depict Sir Jadunath, I am irresistibly tempted to use an Oriya similie—"His heart is like a ripe coconut ; the outer shell very hard, but the kernel inside so soft and delicious". To his students, colleagues and visitors he appears to be a man bereft of the ordinary courtesy of an Indian, a man who hardly talks to anybody for the sake of talking, who can hardly spare more than three minutes for an interview whosoever the visitor might be. But he is a voracious reader, and like Ulysses, he was and he is endlessly on a passionate quest for ever-widening knowledge. In fact I have hardly come across an Indian who understands the value of time better. During leisure hours when other professors would be seen resting, Jadunath could be unmistakably seen in the library or in his study, reading and thinking. During these hours, he was so absorbed in his studies that the sudden entrance of anybody could not disturb his tranquillity, and one had to make some disturbing sound, in my case a loud artificial coughing to attract his attention.

Once in 1923 there was a mysterious theft in the East Hostel of Ravenshaw College. One morning a boarder reported to our dear Superintendent, Prof. Artabollabh Mohanty that ten ten-rupee currency notes had been stolen from his box. He quoted the number of the notes and requested for a general search. I was deputed with other boarders to form a search party and after strenuous search we recovered the exact notes from the trunk of a boarder who denied any knowledge of them and pleaded his innocence. Every one was almost sure that the so-called thief would be rusticated. The Principal referred the case to Jadunath. He glanced at the accuser and the accused and opined that the case was a concocted one ; and this guess really came out to be true.

Once Jadunath led a party of history students on an excursion to some places of historical and archaeological importance. The party consisted of 16 students and the late Prof. Nisikanta Sanyal. It was October 1923[1] and we went from Cuttack to Rajgir via Calcutta. We started from a *dharmsala* at Rajgir in Bihar early in the morning with two coolies carrying two pitchers full of water. We were trekking in search of the abode of Gautama Buddha high up in the hills where Ajatasatru used to meet the Lord. It was a long and tedious journey, and our leader's instruction was that water should be rationed not to quench our thirst but to moisten our parched throats. At long last we reached the summit of the hilltop tired and exhausted. With rapt attention we listened to our leader relating to us the incidents of the Lord's sojourn at the spot in the days of yore. But before descending from the hilltop Jadunath said that he had discovered a shorter route which passed through a precipice. We decided to try this new path ignoring the perils of the descent. At one spot we found that the only means of getting down was to take "a leap into the dark" below. All of us were unaware that the spot on which one could jump from the precipice was an uneven piece of ground ; it was a terra incognita full of dense shrubs covering big boulders. The fifty-three year old Jadunath who was ahead of us was the first to jump down. He lost his balance owing to the uneven nature of the ground, and then rolled down shrieking that he was lost but ordering us to have a right about turn and to take the original long route through which we had ascended uphill. I was the second in line and ignoring his warning jumped down in a trice with a view to rescuing the leader. Fortunately I put my feet safely and ran down to stop the momentum of his rolling. I succeeded in overtaking him just at a spot where his rolling body was about to strike against a boulder. Although injured badly in several parts of his body, full of cuts and bruises, he stood the strain bravely and asked me to inform the party to take the original route. I again respectfully ignored his orders, prepared two holes where I put my feet firmly and stood firm bending my back in a posture, so that it would serve as a springboard in the middle of the slope for climbers to get down. One by one, all of them got safely. It was characteristic of Jadunath that he thought of the students first and advised them to change their route when he was himself perilously rolling down. Later in the day, he showed his appreciation for my deed by giving me the title of "saviour of my life" and a present of some of his books and an excellent recommendation to the Principal of our College. Afterwards he helped me in winning a Government Scholarship for foreign studies.

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[1] 1922 according to Mr. P. C. Roy Choudhury. See supra, 74. (Ed.)

When a student would go to see Jadunath at his place, he would come out of the room with his pocket watch in his hand. He would say, "Yes, Yes," and would look at his watch. After a minute or so when the student had said what he wanted to say Jadunath gave a short but proper reply. If the student still persisted in staying Jadunath would say, pointing to a bench lying in the lawn, "Do you see the bench ? Sit there and study." Saying this he would immediately retire to his room and the student would quietly return.

In May 1936 I had gone to Darjeeling in connection with my research work, and was staying with Sir Jadunath as a guest. One day at 8-30 A. M. he gave me time to discuss the various problems of writing the history of Orissa. We were busy in discussion when Dr. S. C. Sarkar, Professor of History, Patna College, Patna, called on him along with his wife. Mrs Sarkar went straight to Lady Sarkar, while Dr. Sarkar was received in the same room where we were sitting. After 2½ minutes' usual talk Sir Jadunath asked Dr. Sarkar to enjoy the sight and smell of flowers in his garden. This meant that the time of interview was over, but the Professor did not catch the hint, and kept on sitting. Half a minute later Sir Jadunath retired into another room. Dr. Sarkar waited for about twenty minutes for the return of Sir Jadunath, and eventually went out into the garden. Thereupon Sir Jadunath immediately returned to resume the discussion with me.

[3]

M. V. KIBE

(Saraswati Niketan, Indore)

I took my Degree from the Muir Central College in the Allahabad University in 1899. About that time I read an article or perhaps a book by Professor (now Sir) Jadunath Sarkar. In this he had severely criticised the Maratha inefficiency in administration, strategy and policy as reflected in the disaster at Panipat in January 1761. It provoked me so much that I wrote a spirited reply in defence of the Marathas and vigorously attacked Professor Sarkar. I went to the extent of calling him a Mohamedan historian, as he had relied on Mohamedan sources and had regarded unreliable such Maratha evidence as was then available to him. My article was published by Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Sachchidanand Sinha in his *Kayastha Samachar*, which was the predecessor paper of the *Hindustan Review.* Later on also I never reconciled myself to his support of Maharaj Kumar Dr. Raghubir Sinh's *A Century of Misrule in Malwa.*

It was some years afterwards that I came into personal contact with Professor Sir Jadunath Sarkar. It happened thus. There is an old family residing at Indore which were once rulers in these parts—Malwa—and under the Mohamedans became farmers or zamindars of districts. Dissatisfied with the oppression exercised by the Governors appointed by the Emperors of Delhi, and seeing the spread of the Maratha rule south of the Narmada, the then head of the family Nandlal by name as reported by

Sir John Malcolm in his *Memoirs of Central India,* invited and initiated Malhar Rao Holkar into Malwa. The descendants of Nandlal live at Indore in a walled mansion and possess, it is believed, records of old times. At the time, I am writing about, the head of the family was a person of conservative tendencies. He regarded those records in his possession as too sacrosanct and confidential to be shown to anybody. They were carefully kept. A gentleman of these parts who was interested in collecting materials for the history of the Marathas, somehow or other secured, or was alleged to have secured, copies of some correspondence of the Maratha leaders. These letters were published by the gentleman who had obtained copies of the original documents in the possession of the family of the descendants of Nandlal known as the Zamindars of Juna Indore.

By the time, this happened, Professor Jadunath Sarkar's field of research had widened and I suppose under the influence of the great historian of the Marathas, Rao Bahadur (now Dr.) G. S. Sardesai of Baroda, who having left the service of the Maharaja of Baroda, had settled at Kamshet near Poona and devoted his life to the writing of the Maratha History based on the latest facts available in manuscripts and authentic published literature, correcting and giving more details which until the vigorous campaign of V. K. Rajwade, were regarded as standard and true, had become interested in the history of the Marathas. He and Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, my esteemed relation, came to Indore in order to inspect the records of the Zamindar's family. They stayed as my honoured guests. Having known that the Zamindar was an orthodox person, Professor Jadunath Sarkar assumed the garb and appearance of an orthodox Brahman by putting on sandal-wood paint mixed with saffron on his forehead and both of them dressed in turbans went with my hearty support to the Zamindar who had been my class-fellow in school. Although the two historians tried for a few days to see the records, only a perfunctory approach to the records was allowed to them. I am afraid they did not succeed much in achieving their object, but I became better acquainted with Professor Sarkar than before. He has become more appreciative of the Maratha nation than in his earlier years.

Some years afterwards Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai invited some historians, scholars and students to visit his hermitage on the banks of the Indrayani, which flows by Alandi, the place of the *samadhi* of the great Maharashtra saint Dhnyaneshwar. He chose the occasion of Dassera for the gathering. Sir Jadunath Sarkar naturally presided on the occasion, although it was an informal gathering, and many questions were answered by him and knotty poits solved. On the Dassera day, it was raining heavily, but we, headed by the two eminent historians braved the weather and according to the Maratha custom crossed the boundaries of the village of Kamshet. We thus came into closer contact with Dr. Sarkar than before and were impressed by his simplicity, sincerity, earnest desire to impart his knowledge to others and his deep learning.

In 1950, when on a visit to Calcutta, I paid my respects to him at his house and was impressed with the simplicity I met there and the learned atmosphere I inhaled.

[4]

R. VASUDEVA PODUVAL

(Director of Archaeology and Museums (Retd.), Travancore)

It was his *Mughal Administration* that first attracted my notice during my undergraduate days nearly four decades ago. I was most impressed with his scholarly treatment of the subject and his remarkable grasp of historical material. To me since then Sir Jadunath has been a cynosure of historical scholarship, a pioneer in the field of historical research and a consummate master of historical technique.

I had the good fortune of meeting him at Madras in 1928 when he came to deliver some University lectures on *India through the Ages.* I listened with rapt attention to his discourse which was marked by an unsurpassed energy of conception and philosophic divination. It was a pageant of Indian culture that he attempted to portray to his audience and what struck me most was his power of illuminating the dark abyss of Indian history. I came to know Sir Jadunath personally at the meetings of the Indian Historical Records Commission at Poona (1938), Calcutta (1939) and Baroda (1940) where he displayed the strength of his dynamic personality. In clearness of thought, prompt decision, quick despatch of business and study of human behaviour, Sir Jadunath showed himself as an undisputed master. He had strong views and convictions and wherever he was, he dominated with his characteristic resolve.

[5]

SURAJ NARAIN RAO, M. A., Ph. D.

(Lecturer, Mahendra College, Patiala)

"Are you Professor Rao from Jind State ?", asked a thin, old man, clad in simple shirt and dhoti with *chappals* on, leaning against an iron fence of a raised platform of No. 10, Lake Terrace, at Calcutta, on one fine morning of mid-December 1948 at about 10 O' clock, as I opened the wooden wicket to enter the premises of that building. Since I had not seen Sir Jadunath Sarkar before, though some description of his appearance had already been given to me by my friend, Dr. Hari Ram Gupta, I failed to recognise him, and, having answered his query in the affirmative, I hesitatingly asked him, "Am I meeting Sir Jadunath Sarkar?" "Come along," came the quick reply in an affectionate tone.

This meeting had been arranged on my request. I had come to know that a number of valuable Persian manuscripts, relevant to my thesis, *Cis-Sutlej Sikh States, 1800-1849* for the Ph. D. Degree, were available with Sir Jadunath, and so I wrote to him, at first, c/o the Postmaster, Calcutta, as his address was not known to me. Later, when Dr. Gupta had conveyed to me his address, I again wrote to him to seek his permission to consult the records at his residence. My letter, c/o the Postmaster, Calcutta, perhaps, never reached him, but I did get a brief, yet sweet reply to my second letter within a fortnight of its despatch. He had not only welcomed me to Calcutta but had also given me all possible details of the approaches to his residence, so that I might not find any difficulty in locating it. I, therefore, intimated to him the exact day and time of my visit and punctually reached his place.

Sir Jadunath led me to his drawing room and bade me to sit on a sofa. Without engaging in any formality, he asked me to give him a list of the books and manuscripts I wanted to consult. With that list he went in and within a few minutes came out with a pile of books in his hands. He put them on a table and asked me to work on them.

I kept on working on the literature supplied to me right upto 4 p.m., when the door opened and in came Sir Jadunath, this time with two cups of tea in his hands. He sat down in a chair, offered me one of the cups and silently sipped the other himself. While going back he, however, instructed me to leave behind a list of the material I needed the next day.

It was, perhaps, on the third day that one of his grandsons came to me and politely pointed out to me the bath-room for use, if and when I needed it.

Any other young man in my place would have regarded this attitude of the grand old man as curt and dry and would have felt rather disappointed. But as I had been sufficiently cautioned by friends against such a hasty conclusion, I carried on my work unperturbed.

On, probably, the fifth or the sixth day a chance event brought me a little nearer to Sir Jadunath. General Madho Singh, at that time

Principal of the Military Academy, Dehra Dun, came to see him. He received the General in his drawing room and before taking him inside he introduced me to him saying, "Meet the Jind Historian, Professor Rao, a very industrious young man." These words filled me with joy and pride. I had been told that Sir Jadunath is a great realist and recognises nothing but merit. His words clearly indicated that he was not at all indifferent towards me but was rather very keenly observing my attitude towards work. Perhaps, like the old *Rishis* Sir Jadunath also believes in carefully testing the seriousness of purpose in a student before admitting him to his fold.

At the tea time when he came to me that afternoon, I felt a little bold to talk to him and with his permission I began to explain to him the outline of my thesis. He listened to me with attention for about forty-five minutes and in the end accorded full approval of it. Since that day he was quite communicative to me and every day suggested some new literature, both published and unpublished relating to my thesis. He arranged my visit to the National Library and the office of the Asiatic Society of Bengal to discover new data, if any. I often put my difficulties to him and he gladly suggested very apt solutions of them all. As a matter of fact, his guidance was opening new vistas before me.

One day he handed over to me his manuscript of the IV Volume of the *Fall of Mughal Empire* (the book was not yet published) to take notes freely on the points relevant to my subject. The utility of the work to me was, undoubtedly, great, because on the one hand it contained the background of my subject, so far as the repercussions of the fall of the central authority and the feverish activities of some of its aspiring successors on the Cis-Sutlej area were concerned, and on the other it provided me with fresh information on a few points, as its account ran parallel to my period for a couple of years. But I must admit that this magnanimous act of Sir Jadunath very much astonished me, as I had just the opposite experience of a number of modern scholars. He takes genuine pleasure in leading young seekers after knowledge to their goal. It is for this reason that we find today the lamps, lighted by his own, burning in every nook and corner of our country. Thus in him I discovered a real scholar of modern times.

Another notable point in the daily life of Sir Jadunath which struck me during my stay with him was his sense of punctuality. I found out by experience that he has his timings set for breakfast, bath, lunch, midday rest, tea, dinner and even for searching his letter box during the day, and I saw him sticking to them scrupulously. It is said that punctuality is the first step to success, which he has surely achieved in a very large measure.

I stayed with him for about three weeks. A day before my taking leave of him he asked me if I had visited Raghubir Library at Sitamau in Central India. On my replying in the negative, he gave me a handbook containing all the details of the records available in that library and asked me to find out if there was any material useful on my subject. To my great astonishment and joy I found a mention of a number of works which were sure to contain a lot of new information on many points relating to my thesis. I reported my reaction to him and he strongly advised me to enter immediately into correspondence with Maharaj Kumar Dr. Raghubir Sinh, the owner of the library, to seek his permission to consult the records and to pay a visit as soon as it was consented to. Of course, he had permitted me to write to Maharaj Kumar Sahib that I was approaching him at the instance of Sir Jadunath. It will not be out of place to mention here that my visit to the learned Prince of Sitamau and his library, which later on led to much closer association with him, proved an event of singular importance in my life. I found the Maharaj Kumar a true replica of Sir Jadunath. A noble student must imbibe the qualities of his worthy teacher. But for the initial lead given by Principal Sita Ram Kohli and the subsequent zealous interest and the unfailing guidance of Maharaj Kumar Sahib, I would have never entered the portals of the realm of research.

I can never forget my last meeting with Sir Jadunath Sarkar on the eve of my departure. As I had earlier indicated to him my intention to bid farewell to him, he came into the drawing room an hour earlier than the tea time that eveing. After he had given me a piece of valuable advice to warn me of the usual pitfalls in the path of a young researcher and to suggest to me the correct process of utilising the discovered data, I conveyed to him my sense of gratitude and indebtedness in as appropriate a manner as I could. The learned old seer seemed visibly moved, and, restraining his emotions a little, he spoke to me in a clear yet low tone, "I may not live to see that day but your devotion and industry are sure to earn for you the Degree you are trying for". This parting blessing of Sir Jadunath touched the most sensitive chords of my heart and I, in a mood, surcharged with a deep sense of reverence, touched his feet. I was too overwhelmed to speak and, therefore, bowed to him with folded hands and left his room.

[6]

K. A. NILAKANTA SHASTRI, M.A., [*Padam Bhushan*]

(Professor of Indology, University of Mysore)

This is not an attempt to describe or estimate the great work done by Sir Jadunath Sarkar as historian ; that attempt will be made elsewhere in this volume by abler hands with more intimate knowledge in the field. I wish just to record some brief notes based on my personal relations with the great man whom we are all at one in honouring as the doyen of India's historians.

I first met Sir Jadunath in February 1919 when I joined the History Department of the Banaras Hindu University as his assistant. Our association in that relation lasted only a few months, as Sir Jadunath felt the need to sever his connection with that University early in the ensuing academic year and go back to the service of the Bengal Government which had lent his services to the University. Sir Jadunath was obviously not the loser by the change.

Our short association at Banaras, however, proved to be the beginning of an enduring friendship which to my great good fortune has lasted unimpaired to this day. I saw enough of the great man to profit by a study of his methods of work and by his advice which was freely and ungrudgingly given whenever I went to him with any difficult problem for discussion. He has always been very economical of his time and would never allow anyone to waste his. To a promising junior scholar he is ever encouraging and generously helpful, but once he suspects sham, he quietly turns his back and thinks no more about the person concerned. His magnificent library of books and manuscripts is available for use by any true scholar who is businesslike and efficient.

Sir Jadunath was on the expert committee appointed by the University of Madras in 1929 for the selection of its Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, and thus he had a hand in my appointment to that post. He has since then taken a kindly interest in all my work as also to some extent in the work of Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, Reader in Indian History in the University of Madras. I once had the privilege of entertaining him and other veteran historian, Dr. G. S. Sardesai together as my guests in Madras for some days. What pleasant and memorable days they were ! It is a very splendid thing for this volume to include extracts from the correspondence between the two greatest Indian historians of their generation extending over a period of nearly half a century.

Sir Jadunath was chairman of the editorial board set up by the

Bharatiya Itihas Parishad for the preparation of a New History of the Indian People in twenty volumes, and being a member of the board, I had another opportunity of working with Sir Jadunath and under his inspiring guidance. Quite characteristically, before accepting charge of the scheme, Sir Jadunath wrote to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Rector of the Parishad, asking that the academic freedom of the editorial board should be fully guaranteed ; he had good reason to do so as his experience in Banaras had shown him that its existence could not always be assured. But in this instance there was no difficulty, and the necessary assurance was given and observed in ample measure. Two volumes in the series were completed, but before the publication of the second volume, the scheme was merged in another similar scheme that had been started by the Indian History Congress. Sir Jadunath was invited to preside over the new editorial board of the combined scheme, but he did not see his way to accept the invitation.

Sir Jadunath's well known simplicity which borders on austerity once drew from me in the early days of our acquaintance the rather pert remark that Aurangzeb was a good subject for study and research, but a bad model for life ; the great man frowned on me for a second, and then just smiled. He has suffered bereavements by war and communalism and has borne them with fortitude.

We are all happy to honour him and present him a small token of the esteem we have for him and his work. May he be spared to continue his great and good work for many more years is our prayer !

[7]

A. L. SRIVASTAVA, M.A., Ph.D., D. Litt.

(Professor, Agra College, Agra)

"Are you a pupil of Professor Qanungo ?" With these words and a smiling face, Sir Jadunath Sarkar received me at his residence, 8A, Badur Bagan Row, Calcutta, on 20th of March 1930. I was on my first research tour of Calcutta where I had gone after consulting the H. H. the Nawab's Library at Rampur in Rohilkhand. Before starting from Udaipur, I had written to my *Guru*, Dr. K. R. Qanungo, who is the most affectionate of Sir Jadunath Sarkar's numerous pupils, to introduce me to the master-architect in the domain of Indian History, and secure for me an access to his splendid library, rich in rare Persian manuscripts and costly printed books, maps and other material that a researcher might possibly require. My first attempt at finding him in had failed. Jadunath then a member of the Bengal Legislative Council, was busy in the

Budget Session, he was hardly to be seen at his residence. I was informed by his servant that in spite of the rush of work, he would every day go out for a morning walk and I could easily see him at about 8 o'clock, when he returned from it. Next morning, I reached the place exactly at 8, and sent my card in. After my name, which was, of course, printed, I had added 'a pupil of Professor Qanungo'. Sir Jadunath immediately came down from the upper storey to the main gate where I was standing and with the words quoted above took me to his small drawing room and inquired straightaway of the business that had brought me there.

I had been told by most research workers, serious and non-serious, and by almost every Bengali friend of mine in U. P. and Rajputana that Sir Jadunath was very aristocratic in his bearing and conduct and that he did not help anybody, much less a man with whom he was not acquainted and who came from a province different from his. These friends had warned me against going to him for any kind of help or seeking an interview with him. But, I was now agreeably surprised to see that Sir Jadunath was exactly the opposite of what he had been represented or in fact misrepresented. I instinctively perceived that he was at once stern and kind, extremely plain and unassuming in dress and behaviour, but sparing of words and time, and yet genuinely helpful to the seekers after truth.

Without wasting words or time, I briefly related to him the object of my visit and expressed disappointment at not having been able to find any material for my work in any of the Calcutta libraries. He listened to me sympathetically and then remarked, "There is one institution where you may find one or two manuscripts for your use, and it is the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The Secretary is a friend of mine. I will give you a letter of introduction and you will have no difficulty in getting access to the manuscripts you require. But I am afraid you won't find much there." Saying this, he quitted his chair, went upstairs and brought his fountain pen and a piece of paper. He wrote to Mr. John Von Manen, the Secretary, in these words: "Prof. A. Srivastava from Udaipur is a research worker known to me. He wants to study some Persian manuscripts in the library of the Society. Kindly allow him to consult them." Having handed this letter to me, he told me where the Asiatic Society of Bengal was situated, which way I had to go, which tram to catch and where finally to get down to reach the Society's building. He even told me of the exact tram fare that I would have to pay. I thanked him for all this, and took my leave.

With this letter of introduction, I hastened to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1, Park Street, Calcutta. Mr. John Von Manen, the General

Secretary had not then come, for I had reached the Society's building before 12 o'clock. I handed over the letter to the Head Clerk, a tall, slim gentleman who must have been between thirty and forty. As I thought it desirable to inform him that the letter was from Sir Jadunath Sarkar, he instantly jumped to his feet and courteously inquired what I wanted. Upon being told of it, he took me to the reading room and placed before me a number of huge catalogues of Persian manuscripts, and asked me to give him a list of the works that I wanted to consult. I was busy with the catalogues when the General Secretary, a tall, bulky and majestic-looking man with a trimmed Persian beard, arrived and entered his office. Within a few minutes, he came to the place where I was sitting and greeting me with a smile asked, if I was the research scholar recommended by Sir Jadunath. I replied in the affirmative. He immediately took me to the Persian Section of the Society, but it being Friday, Shah Muin-ud-din Ahmed, the Head of the Section was away for his congregational prayer in a mosque nearby. When he returned at about 2 o'clock, he went to see the General Secretary who brought the Maulvi to me in the reading room. "Here is a gentleman recommended by my friend Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Give him twenty Persian works in the morning and twenty-five in the afternoon." With these words he introduced me to the old Maulvi. Shah Muin-ud-din Ahmed being an equally humorous man, retorted, "Yes Sir, and fifty in the evening and a hundred in the night." I could not help bursting out into laughter at the witty conversation of these two jovial old scholars.

When I met Sir Jadunath next time at his residence, he seemed to be pleased with the progress of my studies and by way of encouragement and patronage said to me, "My library is in Darjeeling. I am leaving Calcutta in a day or two. When you have finished your work here, drop me a line." I took it to mean that he was kind enough to allow me to make use of his Persian manuscripts; so I thanked him and returned to my lodging.

My work in Calcutta was completed by April 5, 1930. On the same evening I boarded a train (Darjeeling Mail) for Darjeeling. I had started from home with cotton clothing and had taken one blanket and a warm waistcoat for an emergency as my destination was Calcutta. In fact I had never imagined that Sir Jadunath's library was in Darjeeling. Nor did I have enough money with me to purchase woollen clothes, and therefore I contented myself by purchasing one more blanket which could be had after a great deal of search, for it was summer and the dealers had packed up and placed their woollen goods carefully in their stores. After Siliguri, I began to feel cold and so I had to put on my warm waistcoat.

As the train neared Kurseong, I had to cover myself with my blanket and chill increased as the distance between Kurseong and Darjeeling became shorter. About half past twelve, I entered the beautiful summer capital of Bengal and after getting down from the train, engaged a coolie girl to carry my luggage to Sir Jadunath's bungalow. As I was a complete stranger to that place, I thought I must first go to Sir Jadunath's and enquire about a fairly decent and cheap hotel where I should put up. I gave Sir Jadunath's name to the coolie who could surely catch it, as my host was one of the few renowned residents of the town, but could understand nothing more of me; nor could I understand her. However, I followed her and I was greatly amazed when she avoided the road and took a short cut to the neighbouring hill, climbing it with my trunk and bedding with perfect ease and agility. I was almost sinking within myself at the thought of the kind of reception that might be accorded to me in view of my strangely inappropriate dress and of what Sir Jadunath and his family would think of me. The thought that oppressed me most was lest Sir Jadunath should think that I had come to put up with him under the pretence of asking information about a suitable place for board and lodging. I was clad in plain cotton clothes and a felt cap with a blanket for my wrapper and I could not presume to ask for the great historian's hospitality. But great men are truly generous and Sir Jadunath had already sent to the railway station one of his servants with a chit on which he had written with his own hand, "Professor Ashirbadi Lal, M.A. Come with the bearer to my house where I have arranged to put you up. Jadunath Sarkar."

Unfortunately this man could not recognise me, and as for myself, I had not even dreamt that I was worthy of being taken in as a guest by the Gibbon of India, who was reputed to be very strict. As my coolie and myself approached the top of the hillock on which stood a grand bungalow, I beheld Sir Jadunath standing at the entrance and looking towards me with a smile and the ladies of the house at the balcony watching me, a strange figure in strange dress, attempting to climb the hill. I cannot describe the thoughts that rapidly flashed across my brain and tormented me. By this time, I was near the bungalow and Sir Jadunath beckoned me to come, and when I had reached and saluted him, he asked whether his servant had not met me to which I replied in the negative. As we were talking the servant came back by a different route and handed the chit to me.

Sir Jadunath's kindness to me was apparent and I thanked God for the reception. My host took me into a small room and said, "This room is meant for you, here is the bed, and here are the table and chair. You should spread your bedding and arrange your things." Then he took me to the kitchen and the bath-room and asked whether I would like to take a bath. As I was tired after a long journey and it was vary cold in Darjeeling, I preferred to have a wash. "The train has arrived very late to-day," remarked Sir Jadunath, "and I took my meal without waiting for you. I am now going upstairs. You should have your lunch and then I will show you my library." After the meal which I relished so much, I took a few minutes' rest. Then Sir Jadunath came to my room and took me to his library and asked me to make a list of the manuscripts that I wanted. About one hour's search was enough for me to make a list of the Persian manuscripts for my use and I placed it before Sir Jadunath who was studying in a room near by. He handed over two of the manuscripts to me. I came down with them and began to study.

I was Sir Jadunath's guest at Darjeeling for nine days (6th April to 14th) during which period I made a close and thorough study of nine rare and contemporary Persian manuscripts dealing with the early years of the 18th century, taking down notes from all relevant chapters, generally in English and most valuable passages in Persian.

Sir Jadunath would come to my room every morning and ask if I was feeling cold, and I invariably replied in the negative. I had lost my pillow during the course of my journey from Calcutta and my kind host was so solicitous about my comfort that he provided me with one as soon as he saw that I had none. He would sometimes watch me at work and as I came to know later on, he was impressed by the method of my study and my devotion to it. I would get up at 4 o'clock and after my bath, prayer and exercise, would sit down to study at 5. At about half past eight, Lady Sarkar would send me breakfast, which consisted of tea, toast, sweets and some other preparations. Sometimes sister Rama, Sir Jadunath's youngest daughter, then aged about twelve and preparing perhaps for her VIII or IX class examination, would take the trouble of bringing the breakfast tray. About half past twelve Sir Jadunath and myself had our lunch together at the same table, where we would talk about various things, specially on literary topics and sometimes on politics too. Those were the days, when Mahatma Gandhi had begun his salt campaign and there was great stir all over the country. Sir Jadunath was naturally greatly interested, of course as a patriotic sympathiser like most of us engaged in literary pursuits, in the movements. At half past four or five, I had tea in my study room and then at half past eight in the night dinner again with Sir Jadunath.

Sir Jadunath's life and works have always been inspiring to me. At that time he was in his 60th year, and yet he worked like a youth of twenty-five, busy with his researches from early in the morning to midnight with only two or three hours off for meals and walks which he took with a religious regularity. He spoke very little and would not waste a minute of his time. I often noticed that after midday meal, he would pace round his bungalow, as if in meditation, thinking and planning, I presume, a series of volumes on the Fall of the Mughal Empire which he was then about to begin. His regularity, punctuality, hard labour and devotion to scholarly pursuits at the age of sixty, produced a profound effect upon me and consciously or unconsciously, he became a living ideal for me.

On the 14th April, I finished my study in Sir Jadunath's library and informed him that I would leave for Patna the same day to make use of certain Mss. in the famous Khuda Bakhsh Library at Bankipore. It was past nine in the morning and I had already had my breakfast. I was asked to take my meal too which was quickly prepared at Sir Jadunath's orders. He wrote a letter of introduction to his younger brother, Dr. A. Sarkar, who was a professor in the Medical College, Patna, and handing it over to me said that I should put up with him. Then he gave me a big bundle of Darjeeling tea intended for his old Persian tutor, a Muhammadan gentleman from Gaya district who had taught him that language. This again I was to deliver to Dr. A. Sarkar. As I was about to start, Sir Jadunath handing to me a blank post-card, advised me to write my safe arrival at the capital of Bihar without delay. I said that I would purchase one as soon as I got down at Patna, and write immediately ; but he would not listen to me. Lady Sarkar sent me a small bundle of fruits, toast and some other preparations, carefully tied in a piece of neat cloth for my breakfast next morning, and I had to accept these thankfully. She had been very kind to me all through my stay there and insisted for a number of days that I should bathe in warm water. But I was a very healthy and stout young man at that time and I preferred to take a cold bath in the chilly mornings of Darjeeling. At the time of taking leave, I bowed humbly and thanked Sir Jadunath for his generous hospitality and for placing his valuable library at the disposal of one who had till then no claim to be regarded as a scholar. Sir Jadunath smiled and said, "Many Bengali research scholars came to work under me. Some of them turned out to be mere spies, while others wanted that I should work for them. I like workers of your type and that of Kalka (Professor Qanungo), and I am glad to encourage them." I again saluted him and with his servant, who took my luggage on his back, reached Darjeeling railway station in time. Sir Jadunath had already arranged to purchase for me a railway coupon on presentation of which one could get a ticket from Darjeeling to Siliguri at almost half the rate, and he had explained to me the route which the train would take and of the places where I would be required to change for Patna. With a composed mind, therefore, I took my seat in the train which steamed off towards Siliguri at 10-30 A.M. on the 14th April 1930.

Jadunath's Contributions *to the* *Indian Historical Records Commission*

By

M. L. AHLUWALIA, M. A. (Hons.)
(National Archives of India, New Delhi)

The records of a nation's past are a proud heritage of its people, and one of the most important achievements of the modern age has been the efforts made for their preservation on scientific lines. It was to fulfil this object that like other progressive governments, the Government of India had also set up in 1919 a body of archivists and historians called the Indian Historical Records Commission. To begin with the Commission consisted of only eight members, four of whom were ex-officio, viz., the Secretary to the Government of India, Education Department, as its President, Keeper of Records of the Government of India, as its Secretary, and the Curator, Madras Record Office and the Keeper of Records of the Bengal Government as its members. The remaining four members were selected from amongst the then renowned historians—Professor Jadunath Sarkar, Archdeacon W. K. Firminger, Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams and Mr. B. K. Thakore.

Professor Sarkar was not only one of the founder-members of the Commission, but out of all the above-mentioned eight members, he remained associated with the Commission for the longest period, from 1919 to 1941, and during this period he made many-sided contributions to the Commission.

At the very first session of the Commission held at Simla in 1919, the Commission had deputed him to examine the two manuscripts prepared by Lt. Col. Tod, one on the *Origin, Progress and Present State of the Pindaris* and the other on the *Outline Plan for Reducing the Pindaris*, which were located in the Central Provinces Record Office. On examining these manuscripts Professor Sarkar found that they were not of much historical value. He had therefore recommended that these manuscripts should be printed in a volume of the *Commission's Proceedings*. They were accordingly printed in Volume XIV of the *Proceedings of the Commission*. Again, when the Commission had met for its third session at Bombay in 1921, Professor Sarkar took the opportunity to draw the attention of this august body to the great need of surveying and using the valuable Portuguese records at Goa. He therefore recommended to the Commission that a competent research institution like the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, Poona, be requested to examine the Portuguese records in Goa with a view to (*i*) to sort out and copy the valuable Marathi records, (*ii*) to prepare an index to the Persian records, (*iii*) to calendar the important Portuguese records. The proposal of Professor Sarkar was highly appreciated by the Commission who recommended to the Government that the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, Poona, be given a grant of rupees six hundred to enable this institution to undertake the examination of the Marathi records in Goa and to prepare a historical note on the extent and value of the Persian records lying there.

Among the non-official members of the Commission, Professor Sarkar was the senior most member and as such he was called upon to preside over its annual sessions whenever the *ex-Officio* President of the Commission was not in a position to be present. A study of the presidential addresses delivered at the annual sessions of the Commission would reveal the valuable part played by him in directing the energies of the Commission into useful channels.

Himself a devoted researcher and profound scholar, Professor Sarkar has a great regard for all those who have done the field work in respect of the modern Indian history. For example while delivering his presidential address at the ninth session of the Commission held in 1926, he paid a glowing tribute to the monumental work done by Sir Evans Cotton in these words, "The result of his researches adorn the pages of *Bengal Past and Present* and other periodicals of equally high standing."

The credit of drawing the attention of the Commission to the need of salvaging records and historical manuscripts lying in private custody also belongs to Professor Sarkar. He particularly emphasized this point in his presidential address delivered at the eleventh session of the Commission held at Nagpur in 1928. While elucidating his point, Professor Sarkar revealed that private correspondence of the British administrators in India was the most useful source material for writing the history of India under the British. He referred in this connection to the private letters exchanged between Lord Dalhousie and Sir Frederick Currie regarding the annexation of the Panjab, which he said were lying with Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis. Similarly he said that large number of papers regarding the French and Portuguese rule were available in Pondicherry and Goa. Accordingly, the Commission decided to extend its activities beyond the bounds of the official records of the Government and to salvage and preserve the hitherto unthought of private records in our country. It was to achieve this object that, at a later stage, the Commission recommended the setting up of Regional Records Survey Committees These Committees are now functioning in most of the States in India and through their efforts large number of valuable records and historical manuscripts have been found out. As a further step towards the proper utilization of the hitherto less known source materials of history, the Commission at its twelfth session held at Gwalior in 1929, again recommended at the instance of Professor Sarkar that historical documents of Peshwas' Daftar at Poona be thrown open to bonafide research scholars and that out of these records selected documents of great historical importance be published. As a result of this recommendation the Government of Bombay provided during 1930-1933 a sum of rupees ten thousand per year for the publication of the *Poona Residency Correspondence* series of the Peshwas' Daftar of which Professor Sarkar and Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai were the honorary editors. Both these scholars worked for the publication of these series with the zeal of crusaders so much so that in 1934 when the Bombay Government could not continue to give financial aid for this work, these scholars did not lose heart and collected another sum of rupees ten thousand by way of private contribution, and completed the printing of the Poona Residency Series with this amount. The result of the efforts of these two veteran scholars was that for the first time most invaluable historical data was brought to the notice of historians and by way of gratitude to them the Commission at its fourteenth session held in 1937 passed the following resolution :

> "The Commission begs to thank the Government of Bombay and their editor, Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai for publishing the Marathi historical papers of the Peshwas' Daftar in 45 volumes and commencing the Poona Residency Correspondence Series, and place on record their whole-hearted appreciation of the very able manner in which the honorary editors of the latter Series, Sir Jadunath Sarkar and *Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai* are accomplishing the *arduous* work that they had undertaken at such sacrifice."

To quote yet another instance of Professor Sarkar's interest in history, we may again turn to the Proceedings of the fourteenth session of the Commission of which he was himself the President. In this meeting, Professor Sarkar placed on the table of the Commission a volume of historical papers relating to Mahadji Sindhia of Gwalior and told the members how by a "a piece of detective work" he had brought to light the above documents which had been privately printed by Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis for the late Maharaja Sindhia. He further informed the members that these papers were stored by Nana Fadnis the real head of the Poona Government in his house at Manavali, south of Poona and and were recovered a hundred years after his death.

Next to the survey of records in private custody, Professor Sarkar drew the attention of the Commission to yet another great source of historical material, *viz.*, the then princely states. As we know some of these states have had a very glorious past and their ruling houses possessed records going back to the days of the early Mughals and even beyond. Professor Sarkar had brought this fact to the notice of the scholars in his presidential address delivered in 1930 and suggested that the Indian States should be advised to set up organised Record Offices, in which their records should be properly preserved and made available for the use of the research scholars. This proposal could not, however, be pressed by the Commission, as due to certain administrative reasons the Commission could not meet during the next six years. But as the matter was of great importance, Professor Sarkar laid emphasis on this question again in his presidential address in 1937, when the Commission met. The result of these efforts was that henceforward some of the progressive princely states began to take keen interest in the preservation of their records and even permitted their use by the research scholars.

By this time the Commission had existed for over 18 years, but in spite of this, rules relating to access to Government records were very strict. Professor Sarkar brought this fact to the notice of the Commission in 1937 and, at his instance, the Commission recommended to the Government of India to liberalise their research rules so as to encourage historical research in the country. In his presidential address delivered before the Commission in 1939, Professor Sarkar again emphasized the need for a liberal policy in respect of the access of bona fide research scholars to the official records with the result that in 1940 the Government of India modified their research rules and permitted scholars to consult all non-current and non-confidential records up to 1880. This policy was also followed in due course by most of the Provincial and State Governments. Thus for the first time scholars were permitted to see the records of the Government even up to 1880.

Professor Jadunath Sarkar presided over the Commission for the last time at its seventeenth session held at Baroda in December 1940. The address delivered by him on this occasion has a special significance not because it was the last address delivered by him before the Commission, but because it revealed his sincere devotion to this body, which he had nourished to maturity for so many long years. It will, therefore, be worth while to repeat the concluding words of his last address to the Commission, where he says :—

"The Indian Historical Records Commission has now completed 21 years of its existence and expanded and developed on new lines in the course of its evolution. Its members have become practised in the art of hunting for, and utilising the records with success. They have made solid contributions to the history of India on the same basis of newly discovered records and by the still more difficult art of interpreting known documents, in the light of fuller knowledge and a new outlook. Above all the holding of our annual sessions in different provinces and states has brought together scholars and archivists from all parts of our vast country and made them, I may claim, a band of brothers, united in search of truth about India's past life and ready to help each other by the exchange of their individual knowledge and local experience, pooling their resources together at the shrine of the Historic Muse. The knowledge of the dark alleys of Indian record-hunting and of the differences of local conditions which this Commission has acquired by this time, is of supreme importance and will prove most helpful in any plan for the future reorganisation of the Indian Historical Records Commission that may be contemplated."

It is, however, unfortunate that when the Commission was reconstituted in 1941, it could not continue to have the benefit of Dr. Sarkar's association with it.

Another and yet equally valuable contribution made by Dr. Sarkar is his research papers, which he continued to place before the Commission for many years. It was at its very first session held in 1919 that the Commission decided to invite research papers to be read at its annual sessions. As a result of this decision Dr. Sarkar had contributed as many as thirteen papers during the time when he was its member. Thus in 1920, when paper-reading was first taken up, Dr. Sarkar read his thought-provoking paper entitled *The Missing Link in the History of Mughal India from 1658 to 1761.* The purpose of this paper was to draw the attention of the Commission to the hitherto scanty material available on the above period of the history of the Mughals and to suggest ways and means to augment this deficiency amongst our source materials. His next paper read before the Commission was *Delhi during the Anarchy, 1749-1788, as told in the Contemporary Records.* This paper deals with the political history of the Mughal rule after the death of Emperor Muhammad Shah. The main purpose of this paper seems to have been to bring to light the useful information contained about this period in some of the important contemporary manuscripts such as Khair-ud-din's *Ibratnamah* and *The Delhi Chronicle during the Anarchy.* His third important paper was *Aurangzib's Siege of Satara,* wherein Professor Sarkar tried to make a critical study of the sources dealing with this issue, such as Chronicles of Khafi Khan and Bhimsen Burhanpuri and *Nimcha-i-Alamgiri* by Khan Bahadur Humi-ud-din. Another interesting paper read by Professor Sarkar was *The Affairs of the English Factory at Surat, 1694-1700.* In this paper Professor Sarkar throws vivid light on the causes of the failure of the British at Surat and the part played by the Dutch in worsening the position of the British at the Mughal Court. At the sixth session of the Commission held in 1924, Professor Sarkar read his paper on *The Bhaies* *of Shivaji in Madras-Karnataka*, in which he pointed out that although Shivaji's invasion of Madras-Karnatak in 1677 and the creation of the kingdom of Jinji was one of his most important achievements, the information given about this event in the Marathi sources like *Sabhasad Bakhar*, the English Factory Records of Madras and in *Bertrand's Mission du Madure* was scanty. He further revealed that for this part of Shivaji's career detailed information was available in the *Memoirs of Francois Martin*, a copy of which was preserved in the Archives Nationale, Paris. Similarly in his paper contributed to the seventh session of the Commission held in 1925, Professor Sarkar placed before the research scholars his critical evaluation of the source materials on Mughal history in the 18th and 19th centuries. In this context Professor Sarkar gave a masterly analysis of such materials as the *Court Akhbarat*, Jaipur Darbar Archives, the Marathi and Persian records in the Darbar Archives of Holkar, the Persian news-letters sent by the British agents and newswriters to their own governments from various parts of the country and of the materials available in the Alienation Office, Poona. A similar paper relating to "The Maratha Family Records in the 17th century" was contributed by Professor Sarkar at the ninth session of the Commission held in December 1926. Mention may be made in this connection of his paper entitled *English Residents with Mahadji Sindhia*, which gives a very interesting account of British diplomacy at the court of Sindhia and his paper on the *House of Jaipur* read at the twelfth session of the Commission, in which he gives a critical account of all the then known source materials dealing with the history of the Jaipur royal family.

In a short account like this, it may not be possible to discuss all the papers contributed to the Commission by Professor Sarkar, but there can be no doubt that in every paper which he contributed he enriched the Commission by his vast knowledge of the large number of source materials on the history of modern India in general and that of the Mughals and the Marathas in particular.

One more extremely valuable contribution made by Professor Jadunath to the proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission was the examination of the numerous research papers submitted by scholars to be read at its sessions. These papers were almost invariably sent to him for his comments. He thoroughly scrutinized them and made critical remarks about the value of the matter contained therein. These comments gave the papers their proper place. The suggestions given by him for their improvement in the light of further contemporary material pointed out by him greatly encouraged young scholars, and made the sessions of the Commission a place of literary pilgrimage for them.

It will not, therefore, be out of place if we conclude by saying that Sir Jadunath Sarkar's contributions to the cause of the Indian Historical Records Commission are as conspicuous as the efforts made by him at an object study of the history of our country and it could not be otherwise, because the ultimate purpose of the Commission is to help the cause of Indian history by its endeavours to preserve our records.[1]

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[1] There appeared to be a few doubtful points in this paper regarding certain names and reference to this effect was made to the writer, but no reply was received. The Editor had no volumes of the Proceedings of the Commission to check up. (Ed.)

Jadunath Sarkar as A Seer[1]

By

SHANTI SWARUP TALWAR, M.A.

(Lecturer, Sanatan Dharam College, Hoshiarpur)

Sir Jadunath Sarkar's is a life of *Tapsya* and *Sadhana* (austerity and accomplishment). The old adage "Simple living and high thinking", has found its manifestation in him to a degree of perfection. No difficulties, however insurmountable, could frighten him, no misfortunes could depress him and no temptations could lead him astray. A selfless and untiring worker, with no craze for fame and popularity, he has rendered unique service to the advancement of research in history. He has a craving for knowledge and laments the indifference on the part of the students in general towards learning. He is particularly sore to observe at times that students generally are not genuine seekers after historical knowledge, but their sole aim is to get a degree. He is by nature humane, but at the same time considerate. To him duty is above everything and work a source of intoxication. These together make him forget everything else, even the sadness of bereavement—to use his own words. Without work he would feel depressed in mind. His ardent love for work and knowledge has made him a distinguished scholar. His writings are concise, illuminating, eloquent and enlivened with illustrations. They bear unquestionable testimony to his encyclopaedic knowledge, power of deep thinking and intensive and extensive comparative study. His investigations are original and he is a fearless and unbiased critic. He is endowed with an excellent memory, a rare gift of nature and a most valuable asset for a historian. Sir Jadunath Sarkar is great as a man, greater as a writer and the greatest amongst the Indian historians. More appropriately he may be called a "true" historian in every sense of the word. The lessons of history are not wasted upon him. He possesses the natural instinct of suggesting proper solutions of India's present day political, social and economic problems in the light of the past history of this country. His prophetic forecasts are a testimony to his effulgent genius, foresight and statesmanship and

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1. This article was assigned to me at a time when the first section of this volume had almost been printed and I was asked to prepare this paper in a couple of days. Hoshiarpur being a small town there is no facility for access to big libraries, which one can have at cities like Delhi and Calcutta. In the circumstances only a few of his articles, etc. that could be obtained at this place have been made use of.

an outcome of the thorough insight of the under-currents and movements of history.

Independence and Military Power

In his book *India Through the Ages* in the chapter "The English and their Gifts to India" he wrote :—

> "Coupled with uniformity and administrative system, which is a gift of the British age, they (modern agencies of communication, transport, etc) have also been tending to fuse various races and creeds of India into one homogeneous people and to bring about social equality and community of life and thought, which are necessary basis of nationality. The process has just begun, though its completion is yet far off."[1]

Thus we see that even in 1928 Sir J. N. Sarkar had a clear vision of independence of India coming at a later stage than that envisaged in the resolution of *Puran Swaraj* passed by the Congress at its Lahore session in 1929. He could visualize that until and unless the process that had set in reached finality the idea of independence would remain an unrealized dream. He also wrote in clear words that the Indians could not get their liberty but they were "on the way to attain that equality, which is the indispensable preliminary to political liberty."[2]

We cannot but appreciate the foresight of Sir Jadunath, when we cast a glance over the march of events in independent India after 1947, in the light of his following statement, which was also made in 1928 :—

> "A people with watertight class distinctions even when freed from foreign domination cannot enjoy political liberty; it will be subject to the autocracy of a clique or a family."[3]

In the same book at another place he says :—

> "No nation can exist in present day world by merely cultivating its brain, without developing its economic resources and military power to the high pitch attained by its possible enemies."[4]

Obviously the note of warning, sounded by the great historian nearly 28 years ago, holds good even today with equal force and accuracy and it must receive immediate attention of our countrymen in view of Pakistan's rapidly mounting military strength.

Socialistic Pattern of the State

In his article *How the British lost India* (published in the *Modern Review* for October, 1951) he mentioned about the evolution of the middle class and consequential social equality in this country. Its natural outcome, he said, would be the need for a "socialistic activity" on the part of the government. Thus he forestalled by three years the Congress resolution of "Socialistic Pattern of the State" passed at Avadi in 1954.

The Communal Strife of 1947

When the first Round Table Conference failed to have the desired effect the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed in March 1931. As a result thereof the second Round Table Conference was held in London, which was attended by Mahatma Gandhi as the sole representative of the Congress. In spite of the fact that Mahatma Gandhi gave a Carte blanche to Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the knotty problem of communalism was not solved. The uncompromising attitude of Mr. Jinnah and the part played by Sir Samuel Hoare made any settlement of this question impossible. Mahatma Gandhi left England in utter despair and with great resentment. When he reached India he was arrested. It was at this time that Sir Jadunath Sarkar wrote a letter on 14 August 1931 to Padam Bhushan Dr. G. S. Sardesai, saying :—

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[1] *India Through the Ages*, 95.

[2] Ibid, 133.

[3] Ibid, 134.

[4] Ibid, 138-9.

> "I see no prospect of civil commotion abating in future ; on the contrary public opinion in England and among Europeans in India has been roused to such bitterness that the Swarajists will soon have to test their strength against the British plus the Muslims. The Hindus are so divided and so foolishly selfish that their majority does not count in actual politics. The atmosphere can clear only after a thunderstorm—after showers of blood."

He could foresee the showers of blood,[1] which took place in 1947, just sixteen years afterwards. It is a proof of his clear conception of coming events which could not be seen by the greatest political leaders of India even a few days before-hand. Jadunath was convinced that a civil war was the only solution of this frightful communal tangle. In another letter to G. S. Sardesai dated 30 September 1946 he re-iterated this conviction of his, when he wrote :—

> "The administration is hopelessly inefficient and dishonest and as no improvement can be expected in the course of things, the future of the Hindus here (Calcutta or Bengal) is unspeakably dark."

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[1] The partition of India is a unique event in the history of the world in the sense that it uprooted more than ten million people, who had to leave their hearths and homes, where they had lived for centuries. They were declared aliens in their own homes. Most of the people, who were rolling in luxury, were rendered helpless destitutes. Numerous women were made widows and the children orphans. For most of the people it was a bolt from the blue as they were taken unawares by the attacking mobs. Countless women jumped into wells, canals and rivers in order to save their honour. Many families were roasted alive as they were not allowed to come out from their houses which were set ablaze by the hostile crowds. Many places of worship both of the Hindus and the Sikhs were burnt along with their inmates. Their details are too horrible to be described. The railway train massacres committed at various places like Gujranwala, Gujrat, Jassar and Amritsar, put to shame the civilized world. Women in the prime of beauty and youth were publically raped and abducted.

The tribal invasion of Kashmir brought another train of misery and sufferings. One can find numerous instances, where so many persons were slain, because they refused to be converted to Islam. All sorts of barbarities were committed on the Hindus and Sikhs when Kashmir was attacked by various tribes backed by Pakistan forces.

Future of Private Educational Institutions

While discussing the problem of education in India in his article *Whither Young India* (published in the *Hindusthan Standard* of 25 November 1951) Sir Jadunath exhorts the government of the country to help the private institutions hitherto maintained by the big zamindars and business magnates in these words :—

> "Today the state in most places has become the landowner and extinguished the Zamindar class. Therefore, normally and legally the burden of providing for this school education must fall on public exchequer. If you have taken the land you must bear the full burden of the dues from the land."

Unluckily no attention apparently has been paid by the government to this advice. The state of education and the plight of the teachers in these institutions is growing worse. The stability of such institutions is becoming precarious. The sources feeding them have dried up. The old order has been changed but without replacing it with a new one. Naturally the result is chaotic. The low and irregularly paid teachers cannot obviously devote their entire energy to impart right sort of education to the students, whose future is entrusted to them. Another calamity that has befallen these institutions is that their management has deteriorated to a large extent and this has contributed much to the rising indiscipline among the students and their apathy towards learning. Under the prevailing conditions free education, so much talked of, is also likely to remain a dream for a long time to come.

Advice to Sikhs

Commenting on the downfall of Ranjit Singh's kingdom he advised the Sikhs in his article *The Sikhs in Indian History* published in the *Hindusthan Standard* dated 9 December 1951 as follows :—

> "In short the Sikhs must come in increasing number to qualify themselves in the higher branches of learning and science, civil administration and mechanical arts, so as to be able to march abreast with more advanced races of India. They must also cast off their old pride as a unique martial race, and be prepared to *merge* themselves into one fully fused common Indian nationality, claiming only equal rights for themselves but no special favour...."

Such an advice could only be ignored by a community at its own cost. Alas! they could not realize the depth of his thought at an earlier stage. Signs are visible that the Sikhs have now realized the significance of his sagacious counsel given as far back as 1951. They have resolved to tread the path then shown by him, only in 1956.

Compulsory Hindi and Exclusion of English

He gave another warning to his countrymen in his article compulsory *Hindi—Its effects on Education* published in the *Hindusthan Standard* in these words :—

> "Exclude English from this high function of proved usefulness ; it is possible for you to do it by a vote in the legislature, but don't forget that the cost will be ruin of Indian intelligentsia of the future. Hindi can never replace English and if it ever does so, India alone will be loser by the change."

It was in February 1953 that he wrote these lines, but the blind patriotic pride could not grasp their significance at that time. With the change in the medium of instruction from English to Hindi or regional languages, the standard of educacion has already considerably come down and the process may continue, unless it is checked in time. Happily our great leaders at the helm of affairs like Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, Mulana Abul Kalam Azad, etc. have not only realized the folly, but actually given out that English would remain as a second compulsory language at the University stage. It is understood that in every State the study of three languages will be made compulsory, English, Hindi and the regional language. This further testifies to the force of Sir Jadunath's argument in support of retention of English as a compulsory language in this country.

Pak-American Pact and India

The prophet-historian in the year 1954 in his article *Pak-American Pact* (*Hindusthan Standard*, January 29, 1954) after discussing its implications and different aspects wrote with his characteristic candidness :—

> "The great heart of America is not dead, and in that heart I repose my full confidence. If the U.S.A. agrees to destroy India's infant freedom, I have read American history amiss."

What a heartening assurance though to be tested by time is this for the Indian people—and a faith in the bona fides of the American people ! The statement was most probably made taking into consideration the chief characteristics of the American civilization and also the factors which go to make the American people and their character. Thus he has tried to remove, not without reason, from the minds of his countrymen the intense apprehension which has become almost a nightmare with us these days. The frantic search for security on the part of Germany and France before and after the World War I. and the disastrous consequences that followed from it could not be lost sight of by a historian like him. The hue and cry of the professional politicians at the time might have polluted the public opinion and resulted in a pressure being exerted on Jawaharlal Nehru to change his policy of neutrality. Events since Pak-

American Pact have not so far belied the statement of Sir Jadunath; rather they have upheld it. The recent visit of Jawaharlal Nehru to U.S.A. and the results of Eisenhower—Nehru talks are a proof positive of the good relations that still subsist between the two great countries.

What After Nehru ?

Lately the public mind has been much occupied over the question "After Nehru, What ?" Sir Jadunath has his own say in the matter and on this year's Republic day (26 January 1957) he in an article entitled *"After Nehru .....?"* published in the *Hindusthan Standard* wrote as follows :—

> "If only yesmen are allowed to function as our Finance Ministers the price will have to be paid ultimately by the Prime Minister's reputation in the pages of history. But it is a long distance cheque."

Criticising the deficit budgeting by the Finance Ministers and the "ill arranged" and "spasmodically changed" taxation, going as high up during peace time as it is in other countries during war, he has warned the country from the pulpit of history that the frenzied finance and collapse of currency would ultimately bring about national bankruptcy.

Only the future will tell whether this prophecy of his comes out to be true or not. But his very simple argument would carry conviction even to a layman that one who earns less and spends more cannot manage to make both ends meet for a long time, and that if in normal conditions the pockets of the people are emptied and they have no reserve for times of emergency, they would not be in a position to meet the financial demands of the Government. Evidently the Government stands nothing to lose rather everything to gain if it heeds the above warning from a man of the calibre and eminence of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, who has been a keen student of Economics also. It is not for the first time that he has criticized the financial policy of the Government of India. During the British regime he wrote his famous book *Economics of British India* in 1909, wherein he vehemently criticized the British fiscal policy then obtaining in India. Regarding the standard of the book and popular ty which it gained see supra 58. Sir Theodore Morison also appreciated this work of Sir Jadunath as his "conscientious investigation of detail". This should be sufficient to prove that Sir Jadunath deserves a place of distinction amongst the economists, and should allay the misgivings of those who have known him only as a biographer of Aurangzeb.

There is no likelihood that Sir Jadunath's predictions would turn out false if there is even an iota of truth in the words of A. F. Pollard :—"Knowledge of public action in the past provides the best means of understanding public action in the present, and the safest guide for the exercise of political power. Through the proper study of history we can join the wisdom of Solomon to the counsel of Socrates by trying to get understanding and learning to know ourselves."

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[1] He published 13 research papers in the Proceedings of the Commission. See supra, 98.

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By

JOGESH C. BAGAL, Calcutta

Jadunath's contribution to the reconstruction of Indian history, especially of the Mughal period, has been recognised by the savants of the East and the West. Though these works are in English, he has not neglected his mother tongue, Bengali. Indeed his contributions in Bengali are many and on a great variety of subjects, such as, literary criticism, poetry, culture, the unemployment problem, social questions, biographies, besides various original historical themes. Only a few of them have been published in bookform. The vast majority of his Bengali articles and papers have remained concealed in the pages of Bengali magazines, learned journals and periodicals. As will be seen from the appended list of his contributions, Dr. Sarkar's first article in Bengali was published as far back as 1894. His facile and virile pen is still active. His literary career covers a period of over sixty years. Dr. Sarkar's forewords to authoritative books written by various scholars are very valuable. A list of his published books, articles printed in magazines and journals, but not yet in bookform as well as his prefaces to several works of other men is given here.[1] The late Brojendra Nath Banerjee compiled this list upto the year 1948. I have supplemented the list from 1948 onwards.

Bangla Granthavali

(Bengali Books)

1. Siyar-ul-Mutakhkharin ; anuvadak—Gaur Sundar Mitra (Sampadita) : Kartik 1322 (A. D. 1915) : Prishtha 40, asampurna.

(Siyar-ul-Mutakharin, edited and translated by Gaur Sundar Mitra, Kartik 1322 (A. D. 1915) ; Pages 40 ; incomplete).

2. Shivaji (November, 1929) ; Prishtha 264.

3. Maratha-Jatiya Vikash (Saral kahini), Asharh 1343 (A. D. 1936) Prishtha 48 ; Suchi : Maratha Jatir-abhyudaya—Shivaji—Shivajin—Par-Maratha Itihas dhara—Maharashtra sahity o itihas uddharer Kahini.

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[1] This bibliography was written in Bengali. To make it useful to non-Bengali knowing readers of this book its transliteration and English translation are published here. I am grateful to Dr. S. M. Mukherjee, Professor and Head of the Department of Chemistry, Panjab University, for his kindly assisting me in correcting transliteration as well as the translation of the Bengali text. [Ed.]

(The development of the Marathas—Simple history).

(Contents : The rise of Maratha Power—Shivaji—The course of Maratha History after Shivaji—The story of discovery of the Maratha literature and history).

Pustakakare aprakashita Bangla Rachana

(Bengali unpublished essays in bookform).

Year (*Bangali Samvat*)	*Magazine*	*Article*
1302 Baishakh	*Surhidh* (Friend)	Haridwar o Kumbha Mela-Ekashi Vatsar purbe (Hardwar and Kumbh Mela-eighty-one years ago)
1311 Kartik	*Prabasi* (A man in sojourn)	Aurangzeber adi leela (Aurangzeb's earlier history and activities)
1312 Asharh	*Navanur* (The New Light)	Sadhu Vachan (The Sadhu's word)
Agrahayan	*Prabasi*	Kovi-bachan Sudha (The nectar of the poet's word)
Poush	*Prabasi*	Chadgaon o jaladashugan (Chittagong and the pirates)
Magh	*Navanur*	Ekjan Bangali Mussulman Vir (A Bengali Muslim Hero)
1313 Jaishtha	*Prabasi*	Shayasta Khaner Chadgaon Adhikar (The capture of Chittagong by Shayasta Khan)
Agrahayan	*Prabasi*	Shahjahaner-rajya Nash Sunartorir Vyakhya (The Empire of Shah Jahan. The meaning of the "Golden Boats")
1314 Asharh	*Bharat Mahila*	Sati-un-Nisha
Bhadra	*Prabasi*	Dui rakam kovi-Hemchandra o Rabindranath (Two kinds of Poets Hemchandra and Rabindranath)
1315 Bhadra	*Prabasi*	Siyar-ul-Mutakhkharin
Ashvin	*Prabasi*	Khudabakhsh Khan Bahadur

Year	*Magazine*	*Article*
1316 Phalgun	*Prabasi*	Mussulman Bharater Itihaser upakaran (The materials for the history of Muslim rule in India) Banga-bhashider janya Bihare College Sthapan. (Mathuranath Singher Name Prakashita) (The establishment of a College in Bihar for the Bengali speaking people). (This article was published under the name of Mathuranath Sinha)
Phalgun	*Bhagalpur Sahitya Sammelaner Karya vivaran* The report of Sahitya Sammelan of Bhagalpur	Mussulman Bharater itihaser upakaran (The material for the history of Muslim rule in India)
1317 Magh	*Prabasi*	Bangalir Bhasha o Sahitya (Bengali language and literature)
1317 Magh	*Rangpur Sahitya Parishad Patrika Dwitiya Sankhya* (Second issue)	Maldaha Uttar Banga Sahitya Sammelaner Sabhaptir Bhashan (The presidential address of the North Bengal Sahitya Sammelan at Maldah)
1318 Ashvin	*Prabasi*	Badshahi galpa (The story of the Emperors)
Agrahayan	*Janhobi*	Ishwar Rajanikanta Sen (The late Rajani Kanta Sen)
1320 Shravan	*Prabasi*	Purvabanga (Samalochona) Eastern Bengal (A critical study)
1321 Kartik	*Prabasi*	Murshid Kuli Khaner Abhyudaya (The rise of Murshid Quli Khan)
1322 Baishakh	*Prabasi* (Reprinted in the 'Shanivarer Chitthi', Ashvin 1355)	Vardhaman Bangiya Sahitya Sammelane Itihas Shakhar Sabhapatir Bhashan (The presidential address at the Historical Branch of the Bangiya Sahitya Sammelan at Burdwan)
1322 Shravan	*Prabasi*	Banglar Itihas (Samalochana) History of Bengal (A critical study)

Year	*Magazine*	*Article*
1323 Baishakh	*Manoshi o Marmmobani*	Aurangzeber Parivar Varga (The family of Aurangzeb)
Asharh Shravan	*Bharatvarsha*	William Irvine, I.C.S.
Magh	*Prabasi*	Patnar-prachin chitra (A picture of the old Patna)
Phalgun	*Bharatvarsha*	Patnar Katha (A description of Patna)
1324 Asharh	*Prabasi*	Prabasi Bangali o Banga Sahitya (The Bengalis outside Bengal and Bengali literature)
Shravan	„	Viswavidya Sangraha (Collection of World Knowledge)
Bhadra	*Bharatvarsha*	'Banglar Begum' dwitiya Sanskaran (Samalochana) 'The Begum of Bengal' (Second Edition—A Criticism)
1326 Ashvin	*Prabasi* (Reprinted in 1355 in "Shanivarer Chitthi" in Asharh)	Pratapaditya Sambandhe kichhu nutan sambad (Some new light about Pratapaditya) 1355 Asharher "Shanivarer Chitthite" punarmudrita)
Kartik	*Prabasi*	Mussulman Amoler Bharat shilpa (Indian art during the Muslim rule)
Agrahayan	*Bharatvarsha*	Rammohan Rayer Kirti (The great deeds of Rammohan Roy)
Chaitra	*Bharatvarsha*	Mughal Bharatitihaser Lupta Upadan (The lost materials of Indian history during the Mughal rule)
1327 Kartik	*Prabasi* (Reprinted in *Shanivarer Chitthi* in Jyeshtha 1355)	Pratapadityar Patan (The fall of Pratapaditya)
Nidhagh Sankhya (Summer Issue)	*Prabhati*	Nutaner madhye Puratner prakash (The manifestation of the old in the new)
1328 Baishakh	*Bharatvarsha*	Arajak Dillee 1749-1788 (The anarchy at Delhi, 1749-88)

Year	*Magazine*	*Article*
Asharh	*Prabasi* (Reprinted in Shanivarer Chitthi in Asharh 1355)	Pratapadityer Sabhaya Khrishthan Padri (The Christian Missionary in the court of Pratapaditya)
Shravan	*Prabasi*	Bokainagar kella o Usman (The fort at Bokainagar and Osman)
Ashvin	*Prabasi*	Aurangzeb o Mandir dhvansa-Itihasik Satya Ki ? (Aurangzeb and the destruction of temples—Is it an historical truth) Kejo rasayan workshop (Useful workshop of Chemistry)
1328 Agrahayan	*Prabasi*	Banger shesh Pathan Vir (The last Pathan hero of Bengal)
Magh	*Shikshak*	Shikshar alochana keno avashyak (Why the discussion on education is a necessity)
Nidhagh Sankhya (Summer Issue)	*Prabhati*	Dilleeshwaro va Jagdishwar va (The Emperor of Delhi—Is he God Incarnate ?)
Shit Sankhya, (Winter Issue)	*Prabhati*	Aurangzeber Rajottwer Hindu Aitihasik (A Hindu historian during Aurangzeb's rule)
1329 Baishakh	*Prabhati*	Banglar ek Khani Prachin Itihas Avishkar (An old history of Bengal discovered)
Asharh	*Bharatvarsha*	Aurangzeber Satara Avarodh (The Siege of Satara by Aurangzeb)
Bhadra	*Prabasi*	Banglar Swadhin Zamidarer Patan (The fall of the independent Zamindars of Bengal)
1329 Bhadra	*Prabhati*	Bharater aisvaryya (The prosperity of India)
Poush	*Prabhati*	Aitihasik Bhimsen (Historical Bhimsen)
Phalgun	*Prabasi*	Bange Mag o Firingi (The Mags and the Firingis in Bengal)

Year	*Magazine*	*Article*
1330 Poush	*Prabhati*	Samraat Shahjahaner Doinandin jiwan (The daily life of the Emperor Shah Jahan)
Magh	*Prabhati*	Mughal Shahzadar Shiksha (The education of the Mughal Imperial Princes)
1333 Baishakh	*Prabasi*	Kumar Darar Vedanta Charcha (The studies in Vedanta of the Prince Dara)
1335 Chaitra	*Prabasi*	Maharashtra Deshva Maratha Jati (The Maratha land or the Maratha people)
1336 Agrahayan Poush	*Prabasi*	Pita Putre (Between Father and Son)
1337 Baishakh	*Prabasi*	Aurangzeber jiwan natya (The life drama of Aurangzeb)
Shravan	*Prabasi*	Nadirshaher Abhyudya (The rise of Nadir Shah)
Ashvin	*Prabasi*	Bharate Mussulman (The Muslims in India)
Chaitra	*Prabasi*	Bange bargi (The Bargi-Marathas—in Bengal)
1338 Baishakh Asharh	*Prabasi*	Bargir Hangama (Plundering by the Bargi-Marathas)
Jaishtha	*Bharatvarsha*	Vidyasagar
1339 Ashvin	"Haraprasad Samvardhan Lekhamala" (Dwitiya Khanda)	Shivaji o Jayasingha (Shivaji and Jaysingh)
Poush	*Bharatvarsha*	Samvadpatré Sekaler Katha (Samalochana) Tales of olden days in the newspapers (A critical study)
Magh	*Bangashri*	Mughal Samrajyer pataner Itihas (The history of the downfall of the Mughal Empire)

Year	*Magazine*	*Article*
Chaitra	*Bangashri*	Maratha Soubhagya Surjyer Avasan (The setting of the sun of Maratha glory)
1340 Shravan	*Bharatvarsha*	Navin banger jiwan Prabhater Drishya Samwadpatre sekaler Katha, divitiyo Khander Samalochna (Some scenes of the dawn of life of New Bengal) (Criticism of the second volume of the tales of older times in the newspapers)
1341 Jaishtha	*Bharatvarsha*	Jatiya Natoker Vikash—bangiya natyashalar itihaser samalochna (The development of the national drama—a criticism of the history of the Bengal Theatre)
Kartik Poush	*Bulbul* (Reprinted in the Shanivare Chitthi" Ashvin issue, 1355)	Itihaser Gurha Tatwa (Kolikatar Prabasi Banga Sahitya Sammelaner dwadash adhiveshane Itihas Shankhar Udbodhan vaktrita) (The Essentials of history) (The inaugural address at the History branch of the twelfth session of the Prabasi Banga Sahitya Sammelan in Calcutta) (Reprinted in Shanivarer Chitthi, Ashvin 1355)
1342 June	*Rajat Jayanti-Bharat Samrajyer pachish batsar* (Twenty-five years of Indian Empire)	Adhunik Bharate Itihaser Vikas (The development of history in modern India)
1342 7 Agrahayan (1935, 23rd Nov.)	*Desh*	Bangalir nijaswa Banimandir (The Bengalis own temple of learning)

Year	*Magazine*	*Article*
Poush	*Bharatvarsha*	Samwadpatré sekaler Katha, tritiya khanda (Samalochna) (The stories of olden times in the newspapers; third part—
1936 24 January	*Nutan Patrika*	Islami Sabhyatar Swarup ki ? (What is the real form of Islamic civilization ?)
1342 1 Chaitra (1936 14 March)	*Desh*	Maharaj Divya o Bhim (Maharaj Divya and Bhim)
	Sahitya Parishad Patrika	Bange Mughal-Pathan Sangharsha (1575 A. D.) (The Mughal-Pathan war in Bengal, 1575 A. D.)
1343 30 Ashvin	*Education Gazette*	Banger Bahire Shakti-Puja (The worship of Shakti outside Bengal)
...	*Chandannagar Sahitya Sammelaner Karya Vivaran* (The Report of the Sahitya Sammelan at Chandarnagar)	Itihas Shankhar Sabhapatir Bhashan (The Presidential Address at the History Branch
1344 Asharh	*Bharatvarsha*	Bekar (Unemployment)
1345 Asharh	*Masik Basumati*	Bankim Chandra o Islamiya Samaj (Bankimchandra and the Muslim Society)
1345 Asharh	*Shanivarer Chitthi*	Bankim Pratibha (The genius of Bankimchandra)
Ashvin	*Alaka*	Yugadharma o Sahitya (The religion and literature of the day)
Pratham Sankhya	*Sahitya Parishad Patrika*	Mughal Bharater Aitihasikgan (Historians of India in the Mughal Empire)
Dwitiya Sankhya	*Sahitya Parishad Patrika*	Musalman juge Bharater Aitihasikgan (The Indian historians during the Muslim rule)

Year	*Magazine*	*Article*
1346 Dwitiya Sankhya	*Sahitya Parishad Patrika*	Musalman juge Bharater Aitihasikgan (The Indian historians during the Muslim rule)
1347 Pratham Sankhya	*Sahitya Parishad Patrika*	Rammohan Royer Vilat Yatra (The travel of Rammohan Roy to England)
Chaturtha Sankhya	*Sahitya Parishad Patrika*	Madhyajuger Banglar Itihaser Mashla (The materials of Bengal History in the Middle Ages)
1348 Ashvin	*Shanivarer Chitthi*	Robindranather Ekti Dan (A gift of Rabindranath)
Poush	*Prabasi*	Mohini Mohan Chakravarti Smriti (Reminiscences of Mohinimohan Chakravarty)
1349 Pratham Sankhya	*Sahitya Parishad Patrika*	Hirendranath Dutt
1350 Tritiya Sankhya	*Sahitya Parishad Patrika*	Durgeshnandinir Aitihasik Vitti (The historical background of Durgeshnandini)
1351 Pratham Sankhya	*Sahitya Parishad Patrika*	Natya Sahitya Kothay gello (Dramatic Literature—where diappeared)
Chaitra	*Prabasi*	Akbarer amal (The time of Akbar)
1352 Magh	*Prabasi*	Arya Niveditar Adarsha Gaveshanar Pranali (The ideal of Arya Nivedita—the method of research)
Phalgun Chaitra	*Prabasi*	Patravali (Letters)
1354 Ashvin	*Prabasi*	Svadhinatar Ushay Chinta (Thoughts on the Dawn of Independence)
1355 Ashvin	*Prabasi*	Desher Bhavishyat (The future of the country)
Kartik	*Prachi* (Shantipur)	Bahirer Jagatke Banglar Dan (Contribution of Bengal to the world outside)

Year	*Magazine*	*Article*
1355 Poush	*Prabasi*	Amar jiwaner tantra (The way of my life)
Chaitra	*Prabasi*	Bangasahitye Itihaser Sadhana (The contribution of history in Bengali Literature)
1357 Poush	*Prabasi*	Banglar Aitihasik Gaveshanar Samasya (The problem of historical research in Bengal)
1359 Jaishtha	*Prabasi*	Banglar Smaj-jiwan sompad (The wealth of social life of Bengal)
1360 Sharadiya Shashtham o Saptam	*Usha* Sankhya (The sixth and seventh autumn issue)	Sanskrita shikshar bhavishyat (The future of Sanskrit education)

Vibhinna Pustaker Bhumika

(Introduction and Foreword to different books)

Prachin Itihaser galpa (The story of ancient history)	Prabhat Kumar Mukhopadhya (Poush 1319)
Pratap Singha (third edition)	Satishchandra Mitra (May 1927)
Mughalyuge Stri Shiksha	Brojendranath Bandopadhaya (Asharh 1326)
Jahan Ara	Brojendranath Bandopadhyaya (Jaishtha 1327)
Shivaji Maharaj	Brojendranath Bandopadhyaya (Phalgun 1335)
Omar Khayyam	Suresh Chandra Nandi (Bhadra 1336)
Ananda Math	Parishad Sanskaran (Parishad Edition-Asharh 1345)
Durgesh Nandini	Parishad Edition (Poush 1345)
Devi Chaudhurani	Parishad Edition (Bhadra 1346)
Raja Singha	Parishad Edition (Shravan 1347)

Sitaram	Parishad Edition (Phalgun 1352)
Bankimchandra o Musulman Samaj (Bankimchandra and the Muslim Society)	Riza-ul-Karim (May 1944)
Chheleyder Babar (Babar for children)	Bani Gupta (Baishakh 1352)
Bangalir Itihas (History of the Bengalis)	Nihar Ranjan Roy (Ashvin 1356)
Mughal-Pathan (The Mughals and Pathans)	Brojendranath Bandopadhyaya (Asharh 1359)
Prachin Kalikata (Kathya o Chitre) (Old Calcutta in story and picture)	Harihar Seth (Bhadra 1359)

SECTION II.

Selections from Sarkar-Sardesai Correspondence

1907-56

(A)

Jadunath Sarkar's[1] *Letters*[2] *to G. S. Sardesai*[3]

Patna College,
Moradpur, P. O., (Patna),
18-6-07

The only histories that we have of the period 1757-1857 are in

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1. The editing of this Correspondence proved a hard job. First of all the letters were arranged chronologically. Then they were carefully gone through twice, and passages of historical importance were copied in hand without putting any mark on the original letters. These excerpts were typed and carefully compared with the originals and corrected to every comma and a dot. To prepare foot-notes all the published works of Jadunath and Sardesai were studied thoroughly.

This task was first taken up by Mahraj Kumar Dr. Raghubir Sinh, D. Litt., M. P. of Sitamau, and the whole Correspondence was sent to him. He wished to do this work perfectly, and for this purpose started getting the entire Correspondence typed in full. He faced the difficulty of finding a competent typist, and could get only a fraction of the Correspondence typed. It was in this condition that the Correspondence was received by the Editor and dealt with as stated above.

2. All these letters are hand-written.

3. G. S. Sardesai belongs to the Karhad section of the Brahmans of Maharashtra. He was born on 17 May 1865 in a small village of the Ratnagiri District of Konkan. He received his elementary education in a neighbouring village school and matriculated from the Government High School, Ratnagiri, 30 miles distant. Its energetic headmaster Mr. Kirtane was so much impressed by the young scholar's ability and character that he married his eldest daughter to him in February 1884. Sardesai then joined the Fergusson College at Poona, but graduated from the Elphinstone College, Bombay, in 1888. He took up service in the Palace Department of the Baroda State, and began teaching the Maharaja's children. He visited Europe five times. He retired in 1925 after 37 years' service.

Sardesai had commenced his literary career while in Baroda service. First he translated inMarathi Machiavelli's *Prince* and Seeley's *Expansion of England* both published in 1895. Then he planned and successfully executed his *Marathi Riyasat* from Shivaji to Baji Rao II in 9 volumes in 30 years' time. Afterwards he published *Selections from the Peshwas' Daftar* in 45 volumes, which stand "as an enduring monument to the devoted labour and wide accurate learning of this son of Maharashtra." He also published Mahadji's Letters "correctly dated and annotated" in 5 volumes. He edited in collaboration with Sir Jadunath Sarkar the Poona Residency Records in English.

English [,][1] Persian, or Marathi.

The Marathi *bakhars*[2] are well—known to you. The Persian histories were mostly written by flattering Mussalmans for their English patrons, and hence they do not give "the other side." Thus the *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin* (English translation in 4 vols. issued by Cambray & Co., Calcutta) will be of no use to you. We have, therefore, no other resource than (*a*) accounts written by Europeans—hostile to the leading officials or with a grievance against the E. I. Co., (*b*) side lights on the then condition of India, to be gleaned after long and minute search from the published (English) records, and (*c*) studies and monographs written by modern Indian scholars, which give a new presentation of the old facts of Anglo-Indian history, but have no new records to show. These last give the philosophy of history, and tell us "what the true facts most probably were," but cannot adduce documentary evidence.

I subjoin a list of works under each of these heads, with comments :

(*a*) Caraccioli's *Life of Clive* in 4 vols. (out of print). Full of abuse, exposing all his sins.

W. Bolts—*Considerations on Indian Affairs ;*— fully exposing the plunder and oppression of the Company's servants in Bengal. (This will be most useful to you [.])

On 12-10-1948 Sir Jadunath Sarkar wrote about G. S. Sardesai as follows :—

> "What has impressed me most during my forty-four years of active comradeship with Govind Sakharam Sardesai, is his thirst of truth. He has never hugged any prejudice to his breast, but has kept the windows of his mind ever open for light from all directions, and has been always eager to learn. Through a life now exceeding four score years, he has never ceased to read new books and pursue new lines of thought. In addition to this indefatigable industry and intellectual alertness, characteristic of German scholarship, he has cultivated the German habit of methodical arrangement, docketing and indexing every scrap of information or thought, and drawing up chronological lists and genealogical tables with meticulous accuracy and detail. But his German thoroughness has not weighed his writings down with German heaviness of style. His books are pleasant to read and their thoughts easy to remember. .... His style has the clear smooth flow of a limpid brook." (*Sardesai Commemoration Volume*, pp. 291-304, and *Sarkar-Sardesai Correspondence*)

In view of his meritorious services rendered to the cause of Maratha History, the University of Bombay conferred upon him the Honorary Degree of D. Litt. The British Government of India created him a *Rao Bahadur*. This year on the Republic Day (26 January 1957) the President of India has bestowed on him the high honour of *Padam Bhushan*.

[1] Italics and long brackets with the punctuation marks, etc. inside are ours. (Ed.)

[2] It means chronicles. Vide Sardesai, *Main Currents of Maratha History*, 37.

Burke—*Impeachment of Warren Hastings* (This must be familiar to you ;—not so full of facts.)

Shore—*Notes on Indian Affairs, or Misgovernment of India* (deals with the 19th. century.)

Malleson—*Clive and Warren Hastings* ("Founders of Indian Empire" series) [,] 2 large volumes written by a fair-minded historian.

(*b*) Forrest—*Bengal in 1757*, 3 vols. (recently issued by the Government of India), shows the oppression of the E. I. Co's servants.

The Fifth Report (occasionally)

The Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, on the basis of which Parliament decided to impeach Warren Hastings

Hill—*Three Frenchmen in Bengal.*

Vansittart—*Transactions in Bengal*, 3 vols. (suppresses many facts.)

(*c*) Akshaya K. Maitra—*Sirajuddaula* (Bengali), proves "Black Hole" a myth.

Kali P. Banerji—*Banglar Itihasha 18th. century.* (Bengali) A mine of information on the Muhammadan administration of Bengal [,] 1707-1757. But it does not give the Indian side of the doings of the English, because it does not go beyond 1750 or so.

Nikhil K. Ray—*Murshidabader Itihasha* (Bengali), a history of the rulers and the social condition of the gentry,—but does not touch the people.

The diary of the Frenchman, John [Jean] Law, will be soon issued from a MS. by H. N. De, the Imperial Librarian, Calcutta. I am ignorant of its contents, but it ought to give the French view of Indian affairs about 1760.

For the destruction of Indian trade, you should refer to Mr. R. C. Dutt's *Economic History* and the authorities to whom he appeals.

Moradpur, P. O.,
Patna Dist.,
4th. Feb. 1908.

I have approached the history of India during the Mughal period from works of the Persian historians, and they have entirely neglected subjects like Commerce, the Condition of the People, the Growth of Civilisation, &c. which are now considered to be of greater importance than the affairs of Courts and Wars. Moreover, the European traders touched, in Aurangzib's reign [,] 1658-1707 A. D., only the fringe of the Mughal Empire, and were no more felt by the Emperor and his historian than a gnat on the horn of a bull. But the Europeans, being supreme at sea, did great harm by interfering with the pilgrim traffic between Surat and Mecca, and some of them (disavowed by their respective E. I. Companies) by practising piracy[1] in the Indian ocean. When these white pirates captured an Imperial ship named the *Ganj-i-sawai*,[2] Aurangzib ordered the English factors at Surat[3] to be imprisoned. I have a set of Persian letters in which these English captives piteously begged the Mughal governor[4] of Surat and petitioned the Emperor protesting their innocence and craving to be released. These I shall publish in translation in a year or two. But they throw no light on the state of trade.

The war waged by Child[5] on Aurangzib is silently passed over by all the Persian historians; so also are Shaista Khan's[6] efforts to curb them.

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[1] For details vide Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, V, 343-46; *Short History of Aurangzib*, 389-92.

[2] *Ganj-i-sawai*, the Emperor Aurangzeb's ship, was the largest vessel in the port of Surat. The ship had 80 guns and 400 muskets on board and used to carry pilgrims for Mecca. Its captain was Muhammad Ibrahim who was a coward. *Ganj-i-sawai* was attacked in September 1695 between Bombay and Daman by the *Fancy*, a pirate ship, captained by Evory an Englisman. The pirates raped the women and looted the ship for three days. (Sarkar, *Short History of Aurangzib*, 391-2; *History of Aurangzib*, V, 343-6.)

[3] Surat is a town and port situated on the western coast of India in the north of Bombay.

[4] This refers to Itimad Khan who also acted as the Collector of Customs of the port of Surat. He was an able and honest officer and was reputed to be a friend of the English. He died in February 1697. (Sarkar, *Short History of Aurangzib*, 392; *History of Aurangzib*, V, 346.)

[5] Sir John Child was the 'General and Director in Chief' of all the E. I. Co.'s factories in India. The English traders were often harassed on the western coast of India by the corrupt Mughal officials who amassed wealth by illicit means and in 1680 had imposed Jaziya upon the traders in the form of additional import duty of one p. c. Child was, therefore, instructed from Home to protect the interests of the traders and relieve them from the greedy imperial officers. But Child was an incapable man and his attempt to remove the factory from Surat to Bombay in April 1687 faild, Next year in October 1688, he took a bold step, came to Swally with a fleet and demanded compensation from the Mughal Governor of Surat for the harm done to the English traders in the past. The Governor at once placed the English factors under arrest and sent a force against Child. But he made his escape and retaliated by capturing Indian ships. At last, the hostilities were ended in December 1689 when Aurangzeb pardoned the English captives for whose release Child had sent a mission to the Emperor. (Sarkar, *Short History of Aurangzib*, 388-9; *History of Aurangzib*, V, 335-40.)

[6] Shaista Khan, entitled Amir-ul-umara or Premier Peer, was Aurangzeb's maternal uncle. In 1660 Aurangzeb appointed him to the governorship of the Deccan. He had previously

These matters only touched the frontier and were hardly talked about at Delhi! Only the briefest and scantiest reference to the Europeans is found in the many hundred letters of Aurangzib which I have collected.

Thus, you see, I am unable to answer your questions with regard to the reign of Aurangzib. But under his degenerate successors the position of the Europeans was entirely changed. From about 1750 they became practically the masters of the land. Delhi lost its importance.

I have made no special study of this later period (say 1720 to 1761) and consequently I can only refer you to books.

Bruce's Annals, 3 vols., is a mine of information, which is of paramount importance to you. No history of the E. I. Co can be written without studying it. (I have consulted it only for my period about 1675 to 1695.]

Please also consult *Bengal in 1757*, 3 vols. (Govt. Records Series) ed. by Prof. Forrest or Hill and Hunter's *History of India* [,] Vol. II. (which covers the period 1626 to 1709)

A *History of the French E. I. Co* based on French records was published in French about 3 years ago. If you want to deal with the whole question of European trade with India, you should procure it.

In a previous letter I have urged on you the importance of Bolt's *Considerations of Indian Affairs*. It is, however, too late for your period, but it will be of indirect use in throwing side lights on the past.

I am very sorry at failing to give satisfactory answers to your interesting and suggestive queries, but I shall bear them in my mind in writing my *History of India in the Reign of Aurangzib*, which I have just begun.

Moradpur, P. O.,
3-9-13

For the Mughal Emperors' insignia of royalty and standards, please consult Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Eng. tr. Vol I. illustrations at the end.

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served as the governor of Malwa and the Deccan and had distinguished himself in the campaign against Golkonda. But the famous Mughal commander failed against Shivaji's inborn genius for military organisation and in December 1663 got himself transferred to the Government of Bengal. He served as Viceroy of Bengal from 1664 to 1677 and for a second time from 1680 to 1688. He suppressed the growing menace of the Chatagaon pirates. The most important event during his second viceroyalty of Bengal was the war with the English East India Company. He was an able and generous administrator and earned great popularity with the people. He encouraged trade, looked after the well-being of the people, and erected many buildings and serais. He died at Agra in April 1694. (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, V, 366, 369 f. n.; *Short History of Aurangzib*, 190-91, 192-3, 126-9, 398-9; *Shivaji*, 75, 92; *House of Shivaji*, 100; *Studies in Mughal India*, 118-167; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 121, 132, 144.)

There is no book on Indian flags &c. But some information can be gleaned out of Tod's *Rajasthan*, original edition.

Egerton's *Handbook of Indian Arms in the Br. Museum*, 2nd ed., is interesting, but not exactly what you want.

Consult Griffith's *Ajanta Caves*, for Indian royal costume and war paraphernalia about 600-800 A. D.

Also V. Smith's *Coins in Indian Museum*, Vol I. (Clarendon Press) 30s. and *List of Coins of the Gupta Emperors &c.* in the Br. Museum, Cunningham's *Coins of Ancient & Medieval India, &c.*

Two Mss. of the Khuda Bakhsh Library here give illustrations of Timur, Babar, Akbar, &c.

Moradpur,
15 July, 1914.

I am glad to learn that Mr. Mawji has mortgaged his Museum to the Baroda State. Does it include his collection of Persian *farmans* issued to Shivaji's family and the Persian Ms. containing certain Mughal-Maratha letters which he refused to let me copy when we two visited him ?

There are detailed accounts of the career of Shahji[1] in the Persian histories of Jahangir and Shah Jahan and a Bijapur history, all in my possession.

Of Maloji[2] we have only a brief mention. For the execution of

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[1] Shahji, father of great Shivaji, was the eldest son of Maloji and was born on 15 March 1594. He first took service under Malik Ambar, the able regent of Nizam Shah. In November 1630 he joined the Mughals and got the rank of a Commander of 5,000 with two lakhs of rupees as his bounty and a small jagir. About June 1632 he deserted the imperial service and went over to the Bijapuris. But in August 1633 he espoused the cause of the decadent Nizam Shahi Dynasty and set up a puppet, Nizam Shah with the help of the Bijapuris. He carried on administration in his name for three years, but was defeated by the Mughals in October 1636 and had to give up his puppet king and enter the Bijapuri service. He was courageous, resourceful and very bold. He patronised literature. The fort of Shahgarh was built by him. He fell from the horse on 23 January 1664 when he was hunting on the bank of Tungabhadra and died instantly. (Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 16-23, 32, 35, 36, 58, 101, 224 ; *House of Shivaji*, 22-5, 30-42, 45-57 ; *Short History of Aurangzib*, 181 : *History of Aurangzib*, IV, 21-3 ; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 45 51, 53, 54, 60, 65, 69, 71-3, 78-84, 171 ; *Main Currents of Maratha History*, 12, 60, 61, 62.)

[2] Maloji was the brother of Kheloji Bhosle, the first cousin of Shahji. (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, 54.)

There was another Maloji, son of Babaji, a village headman in the service of Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar. Later, Maloji with his brother, Vitoji, migrated to the village Verul (Ellora) near Daulatabad and took service as troopers under Jadav Rao of Sindhkher, a noble in the

Kheloji,[1] see my History, Vol. I. p. 54.

The 3rd volume of *Aurangzib* is still unwritten. ....

The best way to utilize Mawji's Museum is to issue a descriptive catalogue of it with plenty of illustrations. That would attract scholars to it, and the collection would thus be made to yield fruit in the form of research.

Moradpur,
14-8-15

I have not been able to find any reference in the Persian histories to the captivity of Shahji at Bijapur[2] and his restoration to liberty at the bidding of Shah Jahan. *Rajwade* Vol 8, gives 2 letters written by Shah Jahan to Shahji and Shivaji on 30 Nov. 1649—the alleged time of the arrest—but they merely invite Shiva to send an agent to the Mughal Court to make a confidential report of his heart's wishes. Not a word is said of Shahji being confined.

It is very strange that the detailed Persian history of Bijapur (*Basatin-i-salatin*) should be silent about the arrest of Shahji.

Is it a mere myth ?

Moradpur
16-8-15

The Persian history of Bijapur (*Basatin-i-salatin*, p. 309) states that Shahji was arrested at the siege of Jinji[3] by the Bijapur commander-in-

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service of Nizam Shah. After some time they were dismissed from service because Maloji had demanded the hand of his master's daughter for Shahji, his son. (This marriage took place later on.) By chance, Maloji discovered buried treasure and suddenly grew rich and entered the service of Nizam Shahi Government. The Sultan of Ahmadnagar granted him the districts of Poona and Supa as jagir in recognition of his loyal services. He possessed an energetic mind and huge but strong body. He died in 1620. (Sarkar, *Shivaj*, 15-6 ; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 45, 47, 52-3.)

[1] Kheloji Bhosle was the first cousin of Shahji. In 1629 he took service under the Mughals and was created a Commander of 5,000. Previously he was in the service of Nizam Shahi Government and had held a high rank. In 1639 he deserted to Bijapur and began to fight against the imperial armies. But the Bijapur Sultan having made peace with Shah Jahan dismissed him. Thereupon he turned his face towards Daulatabad and became a freebooter. He was captured and put to death about October 1639 under instructions of Aurangzeb. (Sarkar, *Short History of Aurangzib*, 13; *History of Aurangzib*, I, 54-5.)

[2] Bijapur also named as Vijayapur is 130 miles south-east of Sitara and 160 miles south-east of Poona. It is one of the chief towns of Bombay State and there are a number of historical buildings which add to the importance of the city. It has played a great role in the history of the Deccan. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, II, 423-4.)

[3] *Jinji or Gingi or Chenji* is a fort and village 40 miles inside from the coast of Pondicherry and 82 miles south-west of Madras. The fort was probably built by a Chola king in 1442 and was a stronghold of the Vijayanagar Empire. It was captured by the Muslims in 1638 and was under the Bijapur State during the time of Shivaji. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, V, 81-4.)

chief Mustafa Khan,[1] and sent a captive to Bijapur, in the year 1648, "for reasons which it would be tiresome to state". No mention is made of Shivaji's capture of hill forts in this connection, nor of any pressure from Delhi which led to Shahji being released. Babaji Ghorpure[2] arrested him after a pursuit and not by treachery, as the Marathi *bakhars* allege.

Moradpur
28-9-15

The official history of Aurangzib's reign states that Akbar[3] left Sambha's[4] territory at the end of January 1683 and fled in a ship (to

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[1] Muhammad Amin Khan Lari, surnamed Mustafa Khan, Khan Baba, was the prime minister of Bijapur from 12 September 1627 till his death on 9 November 1648. He was an "indolent, ease-loving noble" and the real power was exercised by his favourite, Khawas Khan who incarcerated his benefactor in 1633 and ruled, without the title of the prime minister, till his murder in 1635 when Mustafa Khan was again restored to the premiership. He was a fanatic in religious matters and led many an expedition against the Hindu Rajas. (Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, 16, 17-20, 22, 55-7 ; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, 1, 31, 76, 77, 78, 79)

[2] Baji Ghorpare was a devoted and trusted vassal of Bijapur. He took part in numerous campaigns and acting under the orders of Mustafa Khan had arrested Shahji at Jinji in 1648. It greatly antagonized Shivaji who exacted full retribution for the offence in 1664 when he attacked Baji's jagir, Mudhol, and killed him. Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 36, 228-9 ; Sardesai, *New History* of the Marathas, I, 78, 98, 149-52.)

[3] Sultan Muhammad Akbar was the fourth son of Aurangzeb. He was born at Aurangabad on 11 September 1657. The prince lost his mother within a month of his birth and was brought up by the family with great tenderness and love. He was given the chief command in Marwar and Mewar in the Rajput war of 1679 but he acquitted himself miserably. To escape the Emperor's displeasure, he rebelled at the instigation of the Rajputs and crowned himself Emperor on 1 January 1681. The attempt to seize the crown, however, failed and he fled to the Deccan taking refuge with Shambhuji, the Maratha King. His six years' stay in Maharashtra, however, proved ineffective, and devoid of all hope, the prince sailed to Persia in January 1687. The Shah of Persia welcomed him but declined to support him against his father. He died there about November 1704 and was buried at *Mashhad*. When Aurangzeb heard of the prince's death, he exclaimed, "The greatest troubler of the peace of India is gone!" Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, 71; III, 52-3, 353, 359; IV, 284; *Short History of Aurangzib*, 16, 167-9, 274-5, 290-91; *Studies in Aurangzib's Reign*, 88-129; *Anecdotes of Aurangzib*, 12, 67; *House of Shivaji*, 179; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 294-7, 308-10.)

[4] Sambha or Sambhaji or Shambhuji, the eldest son of Shivaji, was born on 14 May 1657. He grew a reckless youth "devoid of every spark of honour, patriotism or religious fervour". Shivaji failed to reform him and put him in confinement. But he escaped and joined the Mughals in December 1678. He deserted the imperial service in December 1679 and returned to Panhala where he was again taken into captivity by his father. On hearing his father's demise he over-powered the guards, made himself master of Panhala and mounted the throne on 20 July 1680 after imprisoning his younger brother Rajaram and his step mother Soyara Bai (put to death later on). The coronation ceremony was performed on 16 January 1681. He was

Persia.) This makes his stay in Maharastra too short and does not agree with Grant Duff or with the contemporary English records on which he relies. Khafi khan gives long accounts of Akbar's doings at the courts of Sambha and the Shah of Persia but without dates.

Moradpur, P. O.,
21 Dec. 1915.

It is with a sudden shock of pain that I read your last letter this morning. To have lost such lovely child as Shrivatsa,[1] when he was entering on a youth of promise, must cause a grief to which words afford a vain consolation. I too have lost some of my young ones,—two of them a few months old and the third not more than three years, and from what my wife and I felt on the occasions and do feel even now, I can well imagine how very intense your grief must be. We males can plunge into work and momentarily forget our inner pangs. But such consolation is denied to women. An English poet has said,

> "Man's love is of his life a thing apart ;
> 'Tis woman's whole existence ; "

and the remark is as true of grief as it is of love.

Such sudden deaths of the young and the healthy leave behind them a vain regret that possibly we did not try all that medical science could have done to avert it, and women are the last to be persuaded that it was not so indeed.

I have talked with my wife of our intended visit to Bombay and Baroda next October and she had been looking forward to meeting your children there , but I shall miss one whom I knew.

Moradpur,
9 Aug. 1916

Your *Marathi Riyasat*, new ed., vol 1., is the thing that deserves translation into English, after being reduced to one-half of its size by

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a dare-devil and even more daring than his father, but as a man and ruler he was completely unlike that personage. He was captured by the Mughals on 1 February 1689, paraded through the imperial camp and inhumanly tortured to death. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, 252, 270, 290, 477-80 ; *Short History of Aurangzib*, 221, 271-2, 274, 284, 291, 293-5 ; *Shivaji*, 317, 326-27, 330 ; *Anecdotes of Aurangzib*, 15-16; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 221, 250-54, 293-4, 298, 312-6.)

[1] Srivatsa-lanchhan was the younger son of G. S. Sardesai. He was born in 1903. He was a voracious reader from his early childhood and died of low fever at the age of twelve in 1915. (*Sardesai Commemoration Volume*, 295.)

omitting Rajwade's[1] fantastic etymologies and much of your reflections, and greatly compressing the early history of the Deccan and the general history of the Mughal empire,—which are admittedly mere compilations. The rest of the book is of first-rate historical value, and,.........

Moradpur,
1-4-17.

The conversion of Mdan. [Muhammadan] Hijera years into English (Christian) years both in the Peshwas' Diaries and Rajwade, is wrong by ten years throughout, *i.e.*, the English date should be 10 years earlier. How to account for it ?

Jail Road,
Darjiling,
12-6-17.

I am now convinced that the *Shiva-Digvijaya* is a modern forgery probably based upon some old materials.

Benares City,
14-10-17.

For the reign of Shah Alam II.[2] especially the years of Mahadji

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[1] The historian Vishwanath Kashinath Rajwade was the son of Kashinath Rajwade and was born at Varsai in the Kolaba District on 12 July 1864. He matriculated in January 1882 and passed B.A. Final after 9 years. During this long period of college career, Rajwade read extensively and acquainted himself with various branches of knowledge, the study of which was, however, not necessary for the B.A. degree. His greatest ambition was to write the history of his country based on authentic records, and to achieve this, he travelled far and wide making, like an adventurous explorer, a house to house search for historical papers and documents. But he "lived and died a collector and could not compose a single history worthy of the name." In 1898 he published his first collection of historical letters and brought forth 21 volumes more which constitute his chief title to fame. In addition, he published six volumes of miscellaneous papers and six other historical works and regularly contributed papers in the Conference Report of the Poona Itihas Mandal and the annual Compte Rendu. "Rajwade was a penniless collector," says J. N. Sarkar, "but his actual performance, in spite of his severe handicaps of his poverty, temper and environment, was wonderful. He was our pioneer *par excellence*. He not only blazed the trail for us, but he was also the most daring, the most indefatigable, the most extensive and continuous digger in our historical 'reams of gold'." V. K. Rajwade breathed his last on 31 December 1925. (Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, 245-94; Sardesai, *Main Currents of Maratha History*, 38-41.)

[2] Prince Ali Gauhar, entitled Shah Alam II., was the eldest son of Emperor Alamgir II. He was proclaimed a rebel in 1758 by his father who was a puppet in the hands of the all-powerful wazir, Imad-ul-mulk. He took to flight and was in Bihar at the time of his father's death. The news reached the prince in December 1759 and he atonce proclaimed himself Emperor ; but he could not enter Delhi till 1772 when he was finally installed as Emperor by Mahadji Sindhia. He accepted the British protection in 1803 and died as a British pensioner in 1806. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II, 161-70, 524-30, 533-55 ; III, 1, 287-91, 446-56; Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, 385.)

Sindhia's[1] ascendancy at Delhi, we have full details in Khairuddin's *Ibratnamah* which is now being copied for me at Bankipur. At a cost of more than Rs. 300/- I have secured copies of the references to Shivaji among the ms. records of the E. I. Co. in the India Office, London, and settled the chronology of his life. I shall very soon begin a biography of Shiva based on all the existing materials.

Benares City,
6 Aug. 1918.

I have, after a full study of the *Shivadigvijaya*, come to the conclusion that it is a modern forgery, based upon certain Marathi work composed originally about 1780 or even 1810.

Benares City, P. O.,
9 Sep. 1918.

Have you been able to identify जसरी[2] [Jesari] where Pratap Rao Gujar[3] was slain ? I have failed to find any such place near Panhala.[1]

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[1] Mahadji Sindhia, the son of Ranoji Sindhia, was born about the year 1727. He took part in the third battle of Panipat and received severe wounds which lamed him for life. A born leader of men, he had a rare genius for military matters. He was expert in war and diplomacy and won many brilliant victories. The disaster of Panipat had proved fatal for the Marathas, but his vigour, strong will and far-sightedness again carried them to the zenith of their glory. In fact, his brilliant career started after the third battle of Panipat. In 1772 he restored to the throne of Delhi the Emperor Shah Alam II. who had been made to flee in May 1758 by the intrigues of Imad, the disloyal and all powerful wazir of Alamgir II. In March 1784 Shah Alam II. made him the Regent Plenipotentiary (*Wakil-i-mutlaq*) and his "regency opened a period of peace and comparative prosperity for Delhi City." He, thus, re-established Maratha supremacy over the Mughal Empire. He spent most of his life fighting in the north and "the great dream of Mahadji's life was", says Malleson, "to unite all the native powers of India in one great confederacy against the English. In this respect, he was the most far-sighted statesman that India has ever produced.' He loved the company of poets, musicians and astrologers. He died in February 1794 in his camp near Poona. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II, 351; III, 293-94; IV, 51, 76; Sardesai, *Main Currents of Maratha History*, 153, 160, 161, 164, 165-69, 174, 175, 190, 202; *New History of the Marathas*, II, 233, 294-96; III, 86, 145-50, 232, 264-72.)

[2] Vide infra, Sarkar to Sardesai, 27-10-1928.

[3] Kartoji Gujar was one of the distinguished generals of Shivaji. Afterwards he was made Commander-in-Chief and given the titles of Pratap Rao and Sar-i-Naubat of horse. He distinguished himself in numerous campaigns and in 1673 Shivaji sent him against the Bijapuri general, Bahlol Khan. He defeated the Khan at Umrani, 36 miles west of Bijapur city, but allowed him to escape. Shivaji censured his Senapati for his negligence and wrote to him: "Bahlol has come again. Go with your army, destroy him and win a decisive victory. Otherwise, never show your face to me again!" Pratap Rao Gujar at once set out in search of Bahlol and accompanied by only six horsemen fell upon the Khan at Nesari "in a narrow passage between two hills" on 24 February 1674 and died fighting like a brave and daring soldier. His death was mourned by everyone. (Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, *161*; *Shivaji*, 194-96; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 202-3.)

Calcutta,
7th July, 1919.

I have left the Hindu University on account of............factious opposition and unscrupulous tactics, which have thoroughly discredited the institution among educationists. In a week I shall join my post under Government, this time at Ravenshaw College, Cuttack,[2]......

When you have leisure, please point out in detail any mistakes of omission or commission that I may have made in using the Marathi materials in my *Shivaji*.

For the Bhonsla[3] raids into Bengal, consult :

(i) *Siyar-ul-mutaqerin*, Eng. tr, 4 vols. (reprint by Cambray & Co., Calcutta)

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[1] The town of Panhala is 11 miles south-west of Kolhapur. Aurangzeb captured it in May 1707. (Sarkar, *Anecdotes of Aurangzib*, 64)

[2] The town of Cuttack is situated at the bifurcation of the Mahanadi and Katjuri rivers in the State of Orissa. It was founded by a king of the long-haired or lion dynasty nearly 900 years ago and has remained the seat of government since then. It has both military and commercial importance and is known for "its beautiful filigree work in gold and silver." (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, IV, 64-75.)

[3] Raghuji Bhosle was the founder of the principality of Nagpur. In 1741 he sent an expedition to Bengal under his able Prime Minister, Bhaskar Ram Kolhatkar. By the end of May 1742 that able lieutenant helped by Mir Habib, formerly in the service of the Nawab of Bengal, seized Orissa and brought the neighbourhood of Calcutta and Hughli in his possession. Meanwhile the crafty Peshwa offered armed help to Emperor Muhammad Shah against the *Bhosle* in return for the *Chauth* of Malwa, Bundelkhand and Allahabad. The Emperor at once gave assent to his proposal and in March 1743 the Peshwa proceeded to interview Alivardi Khan, the Nawab of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The latter agreed to pay 22 lakhs of rupees and annual *Chauth* of Bengal in return for Bhosle's expulsion from Bengal. The Peshwa, thereupon, marched against Raghuji who had advanced from Nagpur to succour Bhaskar. They encountered near Pachet in the narrow path of Bendu but Raghuji escaped without suffering much loss. This domestic feud between the two Maratha generals greatly alarmed Raja Shahu who brought about an amicable settlement between the two chiefs on 31 August 1743 by which the territory from Berar to the east right up to Cuttack, Bengal and Lucknow was declared to be Raghuji's legitimate sphere of influence. Freed from the Peshwa's interference Raghuji again sent his minister Bhaskar to invade Bengal. But Alivardi Khan, the Nawab of Bengal, treacherously got him murdered along with 21 other generals on 30 March 1744. To exact full retribution for this wanton offence, Raghuji marched against Orissa in March 1745 and captured the city and fort of Cuttack. In June he exacted seven lakhs of revenue in the Bardwan district and about September 1745 reached the river Son after plundering and burning the environs of Fatua, Shaikhpura and many other villages. But in December he was defeated and he returned to Nagpur. At the end of the Year 1746 Raghuji sent his son, Janoji, against the Nawab. Janoji supported by Mir Habib defeated the Nawab but met with a repulse soon after. At last, the Marathas and the Nawab made peace in 1751. Raghuji died on 14 February 1755 after a prolonged ailment. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, I, 38-92 ; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 176, 208-225.)

(ii) *Riyaz-us-salatin*, Eng. tr. by Abdus Samad (Asiatic Soc. of Bengal.) [These are Stewart's authorities.]

(iii) Gladwin's *Narrative of Transactions in Bengal*, (reprint by Bangabasi Press, Calcutta, Re 1-8 as.) Very short.

(iv) Certain translations in Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VIII.

In Bengali a contemporary poem of very great value, entitled (भास्कर पुरान) was published by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. V. G. Apte may give you a Marathi summary of it. It deals with Bhaskar Pandit's[1] raid.

(v) Hill's *Bengal in 1756–7*, 3 vols. Introduction only.

(vi) *English records*. These can be consulted only in London, as the Calcutta Record Office is very poor with regard to the period 1756. Wilson's extremely valuable *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, 3 vols, is incomplete and does not come down to 1740.

The Persian MS. sources in my possession are extremely brief, and in my present unsettled condition, I cannot work them for your use.

[Name of place not given]
11th July, 1919.

Shahgad was named after Shahji Bhonsla. Its situation is vaguely indicated in the Persian histories. (Please read carefully my article on "*The Rise of Shahji Bhonsla*" in the *Modern Review*, Sept. or Oct. 1917.) The older Fort on whose ruins Shahgarh was built is called Bhimgarh[2] in the Persian MSS., which may easily be a slip of the pen for *pemgir* or *Pem-giri*.[3] *Bhim* is very often corrupted into Pem in Persian MSS. I am inclined to place Shahgarh not between Aurangabad and Ahmadnagar as you suggest, but somewhere in the Sahyadris.[4]

My maps have failed to help me in identifying this Shahgarh, and also Jadgiri and Jesari.

The Government of India has formed a Historical MS. Records Commission, of which I am a member. It is a purely advisory body and will meet twice a year. We have decided to ask the three Maratha States to send to the Commission either a common representative or one representative from each in successive years by turns. It will be a distinct gain to History if you are sent as the "Native States member." Your talents as a historian are so well appreciated at Indore[1] and Gwalior[2], that if you only expressed your willingness to serve as the common representative of the 3 States, Scindhia and Holkar would gladly elect you, unless Kibe should desire to come. Please try to get elected to the Commission, as you will then be able to do a lot of service to the history of India in the 2nd half of the 18th century, which Parasnis[3] promised but has not been able to perform. The Gwalior and Indore Ms. letters for 1780 to 1817 ought to be unearthed. We have so long had only Wellesley's version of the affairs of 1799-1805.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Vide Sarkar to Sardesai, 19. 9. 1919.

[3] Pemgiri or Bhimgarh are the same.

[4] Sahyadris are the mountains in the Aurangabad District of the Bombay State.

Cuttack,
19 Sep. 1919.

Fort Bhimgarh, which Shambha and Prince Akbar wanted to take about Oct. 1682, is situated in the Khanapur[4] subdivision of the Belgaum District, only a mile east of the Portuguese frontier. It overlooks the Kell[5] Ghat leading into Goa territory, 15°. 35N. 74°. 21E.

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[1] The town of Indore was built on the left bank of the Katki river in Madhya Pradesh by Ahalya Bai after the death of the founder of the Indore State, Malhar Rao. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, VII, 1-10.)

[2] The town of Gwalior which was the capital of the old Gwalior State is 65 miles south of Agra. It was a seat of Jain worship and among the Jain remains found there, Sas Bahu's temple is the most important. There are also ancient Hindu temples of which Teli Ka Mandir is well-known. The palace at Gwalior is the best example of the architecture of Hindu period. There is also a fortress. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, V, 234-36.)

[3] Dattatreya was the son of Balwant Parasnis and was born on 27 November 1870 in a poor Maratha Brahman family. Possessed of a strong literary aptitude, he read extensively and even edited a monthly magazine during his school days. Parasnis rushed into journalism rather too early and left shool even without matriculating. Soon afterwards he began editing historical periodicals like *Maharashtra Kokil*, *Bharatvarsha* and *Itihasa Sangraha*. He also worked under M. G. Ranade among the Peshwas' Records and even published his selections in a number of volumes. His published works in English are: *Mahableshwar* (1916); *Sangli State* (1917); (*Poona in Bygone Days* (1921); the *History of the Maratha People*, 3 vols; but his monumental works are in Marathi such as *The Marathas in Bundhelkhand*, the *Life of the Rani of Jhansi*, the *Life of Baiza Bai of Gwalior*, etc. He was also a collector of historical material and gathered extremely valuable papers, rare books and pictures. Parasnis got a chance to go to London with the Maharaja of Kolhapur at the time of the coronation of Edward VII. and he visited the India Office Library and other places making purchases of select books and manuscripts. The Historical Museum of Satara is the fruit of his persistent efforts and he has left a rich legacy for ' unborn generations of students by saving the unique records from destruction and dispersion." D. B. Parasnis died on 31 March 1926. (Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, 280-98; Sardesai, *Main Currents of Maratha History*, 41.)

[4] Khanapur town is 16 miles south of Belgaum in Bombay. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, VIII, 147.)

[5] Vide Sarkar to Sardesai, 19. 9. 1919.

Cuttack,
18 March, 1920

I have heard about but not seen a single copy of the *Mahratta* and the Marathi vernacular papers which criticised my *Shivaji.* Can you send me by registered book post those issues of Mr. Kelkar's English weekly which contain criticism of my work as well as the more valuable of the vernacular papers which wrote against me in the fulness of information ? I can leave out what was inspired by their ignorance and spite. Some place-names and personal names need correction, and I have already noted them from other sources.

Cuttack,
21-1-21.

Yes, I should like to possess the *Peshwa Shakavli.* For the Black Hole affair see Hill's *Bengal in 1756-57* (3 vols.) The documents quoted here as well as the *Memoirs* of the Frenchman Jean Law, conclusively prove that a number of Englishmen suffered death in the Black Hole, but they were put there after they had, as prisoners kept outside, abused their liberty by getting wine and beating the Indians ! (Hill.) Mr. H. Little has argued with great force that the number of Englishmen confined in the B. H. has been exaggerated, as there were not so many left alive after the capture of the fort, and the prison was only 18 feet square.

Cuttack,
20th July 1921.

When I received your first letter giving the date of your departure for England, I was at Calcutta..........

Enclosed are two letters[1] of introduction for you. Mr. Wm. Foster can be of greatest help to you in your studies. He is a perfect gentleman and accurate scholar. You will find Sir R. C. Temple's address from Mr. Foster.......

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[1] (i)

Ravenshaw College,
Cuttack.
India,
20th July, 1921.

Dear Sir Richard,

May I take the liberty of introducing to you Mr. G. S. Sardesai, B.A., of the Baroda State Service, at present tutor to the Gaikwad's heir ? He is the best historian among the Marathas and has a singularly unbiassed and critical outlook. As a lifelong original investigator of the history of Western India, you will, I am sure, if your health permits it, take an interest in the study of the MS. records in the India Office Library and the British Museum which Mr. Sardesai has proposed to himself, and give him your valuable expert guidance.

Yours sincerely
Jadunath Sarkar

Sir R. C. Temple, Bart.

For the British period, you have not the time to go through the first-rate authorities or original sources, as they require 3 or 4 years of uninterrupted study and leisure. You should therefore work on secondary books, such as the volumes in the Rulers of India Series, Clive and Hastings in the Englishmen of Action Series, the introductions to Sidney Owen's *Selections from the Despatches of Wellington and Wellesley,* Trotter's *History of India under* Victoria, 2 vols, V. A. Smith's *Oxford History of India,* Pt III (British Period), Lyall's *Rise & Expansion of our Indian Dominion* (new edition.), Inne's *Short History of the British in India* (very good), T. R. E. Holmes's *History of the Indian Mutiny.* & *Moral & Material Progress 1910-11* and the nine preceding years.

Cuttack,
22-10-21.

On my return here this morning from Dasahra tour, I have received your *Third Peshwa* which had been waiting for me. Thanks. The printing and get-up are unworthy of a work of first-rate importance like this, but I suppose the reason is the exorbitant cost of printing and paper now prevailing.

(ii)

Ravenshaw College,
Cuttack,
India,
20th July, 1921.

Dear Mr. Foster,

I have very great pleasure in introducing to you my friend Mr. G. S. Sardesai, B. A. He was formerly Head Master of the Princes' School, Baroda, and is now going to England as tutor to the Gaikwad's heir, who is being educated at Eastbourne.

Mr. Sardesai is the greatest living historian among the Marathas, but his writings being in vernacular are probably unknown to you. He wishes to devote his leisure to research in the India Office Library, especially among the Marathi MS. material, and I solicit your kind interest and help in his proposed work.

So far as I can judge, the I. O. L. Catalogue of Marathi works can be corrected and amplified if the friendly advice of such an expert is utilised. Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis (of Satara) told me that when he was visiting the I. O. L. during the Diamond Jubilee or King Edward's Coronation, the Marathi cataloguer consulted him with profit. Mr. Sardesai is a far more widely read and critical scholar.

Yours truly
Jadunath Sarkar

Mr. W. Foster, C. I. E.,
India Office.

Cuttack,
6 Nov. 1921.

You are quite right in your view of the Khilafat question in Muhammadan India. The Sultan of Turkey was never recognised as the Khalif by any Muhammadan ruler of India, as every such ruler, according to the strict theory of Muhammadan Law, called himself the Khalif of the Age. In the *Khutba* or prayer for the sovereign, the Mughal emperors prayed for the Prophet and the first few Khalifs and then for the reigning sovereign of Delhi as the present-day Khalif, and never for the Sultan of Turkey.

See my *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. III. Ch. 29, p. 118 of the 2nd edition, and *Studies in Mughal India*, p. 310-311, for evidence in support of the above view.

I have just brought out the first volume of Irvine's *Later Mughals, 1707-1719*.......

The second volume is in the press and will be out in February next. It ends with April 1738.

Cuttack,
4 Dec. 1922.

Please read my *life of Santaji Ghorpare*[1] in this month's *Modern Review* and suggest corrections, if any strike you. The next instalment will be Zulfiqar Khan's[1] siege of Rajaram[2] in Jinji. I have used the French records, among other material.

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[1] Santaji Ghorpare came of the Ghorpare family of Kapshi in the Kolhapur State. Along with his father and two brothers he took service under Shivaji, and probably served Sambhaji too though no records to this effect are known. He won credit in numerous campaigns and displayed remarkable capacity for action, leadership, talent and tact. He was an intrepid soldier, able general and very strict disciplinarian. "Shanta used to inflict severe punishment on his followers. For the slightest fault he would cause the offender to be trampled to death by an elephant." (Khafi Khan, quoted by Sarkar in his *House of Shivaji*, p. 216.) Naturally this made him very unpopular. In May 1693 (April 1695 according to G. S. Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I. 336-37) he fell out with the Maratha King Raja Ram who in anger deprived him of the title of commander-in-chief and conferred it on Dhana Jadav Though Santaji defeated his rival general in May 1696 near Conjeeveram, his officers smarting under his severe and harsh behaviour deserted to Dhana Jadav who supported by these officers defeated him in March 1697. Santaji fled from the field and took shelter in Nagoji Mane's house. Nagoji's wife whose brother Amrit Rao had been previously killed by Santaji sent her surviving brother to pursue him. The party of pursuers cut off his head in June 1697 while he was taking a bath near Shambhu Mahadev Hill in the Satara District. "His greatest monument is the abject fear he inspired in all ranks of the Mughal army, which is faithfully reflected in the curses and abuses invariably used as epithets to his name in the Persian histories." (Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, 215-239 ; *History of Aurangzib*, V, 21, 126-27, 198-99, 329-30 ; *Short History of Aurangzib*, 316, 318, 328-29 ; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 254, 326-27, 333-38.)

Today received a copy of Rajwade's edition of *Jayram's Sanskrit Poem on Shahji* from the Chitrasala press. Has it been presented to me in recognition of Rajwade's (उद्गार) against me ? As usual his introduction is ten times as long as the text he has edited. The *Rig-Veda*, Panini[3] and

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[1] Itiqad Khan, surnamed Zulfiqar Khan, was the son of Aurangzeb's minister, Asad Khan. In March 1689 the Emperor sent him against Raigarh which he captured on 19 October 1689 (3 November 1689 according to G. S. Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 322). In the fort he seized the wives, sons and daughters of Shambhuji and Rajaram and carried them off to the Emperor. Early in 1698 he took Jinji after a siege of about eight years and received the title of *Nasrat Jang* from the Emperor. He cherished the hope of establishing himself as an independent sovereign in the Deccan, but was put to death on 12 January 1713 by the Sayyid Brothers, Abdullah and Husain. (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, 483; *Short History of Aurangzib*, 296, 314-24; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 319, 322, 326, 340, II, 11, 20, 31.)

[2] Rajaram, the second son of Shivaji, was born on 24 February 1670. In April 1680, after the death of Shivaji, he was proclaimed King in place of his elder brother, Shambhuji, who had been put in confinement by his father, Shivaji, for acts of licentiousness and debauchery. In June, however, Shambhuji escaped, deposed and imprisoned Rajaram and his mother Soyara Bai (later put to death by order of Shambhuji) and made himself king. In February 1689, a week after Shambhuji's capture by the Mughals, Rajaram was taken out of Raigarh, his place of confinement, and proclaimed king. On hearing this news, Aurangzeb sent Zulfiqar Khan to capture Raigarh as well as the Maratha king. The fort fell to the Mughals on 19 October 1689 (3 November 1689 according to Sardesai) and the wives, daughters and sons of Shambhuji and Rajaram were captured. Rajaram, however, had already escaped to Panhala in disguise on 5 April, and reached Jinji on 1 November 1689. The Emperor, therefore, despatched Zulfiqar to capture Jinji which fell in January 1698. Rajaram again contrived to escape from the fort and fled to Vishalgarh. "Thus the entire work of the Emperor's long siege of Jinji was undone. The bird had flown away." (Sarkar, *Short History of Aurangzib*, 324.) In October 1698 he made Satara the seat of his government. But the Emperor laid siege to this fort too and a year later Rajaram had to leave for Singarh fort where he died on 2 March 1700 at the age of 30. (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, 481; V, 135; *Short History of Aurangzib*, 271 - 72, 295-96, 304 - 13, 330-31, 335; *House of Shivaji*, 222, 234, 242-43; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 293, 319, 320, 340-44.)

[3] Panini, the famous author of the most standard Sanskrit Grammar, belonged to a village called Salatura in the North-West Frontier Province. The date of the great Grammarian is uncertain. Most probably he flourished about fifth century B. C. "The grammar of Panini stands supreme among the grammars of the world, alike for its precision of statement, and for its thorough analysis of the roots of the language and of the formation principles of words." (William Wilson Hunter, *The Indian Empire*, 142 ; V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Panini*, 9-10 ; R. K. Mukerji, *Hindu Civilisation*, 120, 121, 122, 141 ; *The Age of Imperial Unity*, 268-69 ; *The Vedic Age*, 418, 424.)

Ramdas[1] have all come into his preface ! ! !

You may send a copy of Molesworth's *Mar-Eng. Dictionary* 2nd ed. for me by a friend, to the Congress at Gaya, where my friend Rajendra Prasad[2] will take charge of it and forward it to Patna (which town I visit every month.)

Cuttack,
23 Jan. 1923.

I am now at work on my 5th volume, but progress is greatly hampered by the pressure of college work and domestic distraction, as well as the abundance and bewildering variety of the materials.

The Persian MSS. are taking an immense amount of time in working through, indexing and properly arranging, but the result is revolutionary to our hitherto-accepted history.

Cuttack,
18 Feb. 1923.

I am now busy with the history of the Thana[3] district from 1688 to 1704, as I have secured the letter book of Matabar Khan,[4] the *thanadar* of Nasik[1] and governor of Kalyan[2] during that period.

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[1] Ram Das was a saint of great celebrity. Shivaji held him in great reverence and treated him as his *guru*. Besides being a religious preacher he was a great nation-builder and his writings bear a testimony to the same. His most famous work is *Desbodh*. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 29, 31, 221, 264-66 ; *Main Currents of Maratha History*, 64-68.)

[2] The first President of the Republic of India.

[3] The town of Thana is the head-quarters of the district of the same name in Bombay. It is 21 miles north-east of Bombay. The fort and other remains here show that the city once enjoyed great prosperity which was at its zenith at the end of the thirteenth century. From the Muslims it passed into the hands of the Portuguese in 1533 and subsequently it was conquered by the British in 1774. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XIII, 258.)

[4] Matabar Khan descended from the Navaiyat clan of Arabs. In 1687 Aurangzeb appointed him the *thanadar* of the Nasik district and he held this appointment for about fifteen years. He acted with utmost sagacity and cleverness and captured many Maratha forts. An excellent administrator, he encouraged trade and agriculture and adorned the city of Kalyan with fine buildings and gardens. He built his wife's mausoleum in Kalyan at a cost of one lakh of rupees. Aurangzeb had a very high opinion of his ability and success as the *thanadar* and created him a Commander of 2,500 (*Zat* and *Swar*). He enjoyed this high honour for a pretty long time and died in February 1704. (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, V, 145-46, 151, 156-58, 449 ; *Short History of Aurangzib*, 305, 333-4; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 320.)

Cuttack,
5 April 1923.

My fifth volume will absorb all my leisure and therefore I must spend May and June next at Darjiling, carrying as many books as I can with me there. I am very sorry to have to decline your hospitable invitation to your Ghat home. College work and domestic anxieties left me little time for research during 1922 and I must make up for the loss by working extra hard during 1923.

Sarkar-abas,
Darjiling P.O.,
5 May '23.

My 5th volume will absorb all my time till July 1924, as the *Later Mughals* kept me busy in 1922. It is therefore impossible for me to edit and translate long Persian works or collection of letters for the Mandal, for at least the next 2 years, as I shall have to do the copying of Persian with my own hand and do the proof-reading myself,—the *maulavis* being absolutely careless and unreliable.

Sarkar-abas,
Darjiling,
17-5-23.

I have recently studied critically and by comparison with the Persian MSS and English Factory Records, Chitnis's *History of Rajaram*, and find it utterly worthless and misleading.

Darjiling,
25 June, 1923.

I am now working on Marathi history for the years 1689-1699 A.D. (Rajaram's reign) and have to differ much from your *Riyasat*, Vol. 1. new edition. Malhar Ramrao Chitnis has falsified Marathi history and Grant Duff has been his dupe.

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[1] See Gulshanabad.

[2] Kalyan is a famous town and railway junction in the Thana District of Bombay. It is situated 34 miles east of the Bombay city.

Moradpur,
20th Oct. 1925.

Yes, we must spend a full month in Malwa next year, unearthing all the materials.

My visit to Jodhpur[1] was disappointing; the Raj has no ancient records, but some papers of the 18th century have been found in some old officers' families. I urged them to push their inquiries on into these sources.

At Jaipur[2] I found the papers for 1712-1760 kept in a separate room with an Urdu hand-list, of which I am trying to get a copy.

Moradpur,
25 Nov. 1925.

Mr. Rawlinson has asked me for an estimate of cost .... of getting the Persian historical records in the Land Alienation Office sorted and calendared by me in three months. I have replied to him, and added the suggestion......................that you should be invited as an experiment to examine and sort as much of the Modi records as you can in six months. You will be in a position to estimate, from the knowledge of the character of the *rumals* thus gained by you, in how many years the whole mass can be hurriedly examined & the truly historical papers separated and quickly catalogued by you and your assistants. My view is that 3 years would be quite enough for the Modi records, even though they number 30,000 *rumals*. Much of them is waste paper or mere accounts and formal letters with which the historian is not concerned. The residue of truly historical papers will form, after sifting, only 200 or 300 *rumals* at the utmost.

Moradpur P. O.
3 Feb. 1926.

I have a new house being built at Darjiling which will require my presence there for a few weeks.

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[1] Jodhpur is a town in Rajasthan. It was the capital of the old Jodhpur or Marwar State. It is situated on the slope of a small hill with a wall nearly 6 miles surrounding it having 17 gates. It has a fort standing on an isolated hill 800 feet in height. The city was built by Rao Jodha in 1459 A. D. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, VII, 246.)

[2] Jaipur is situated 149 miles due west of Agra in Rajasthan. It served as the capital of the old Jaipur State, and took its name from Sawai Jai Singh. The city was enclosed by a wall which had seven gates. It is known for its beauty, wealth and commerce and is now the capital of Rajasthan. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, VII, 64.)

Sarkar-abas,
Darjiling,
20th June, 1926.

What you write about the Bombay Universisy—at long last !—undertaking to organise research in Maratha history, is very encouraging news indeed. But the whole plan turns upon their getting a truly expert and active scholar at the head of the department to drive the machinery. It is the man that is most essential,—not money, nor the frame work of an organisation existing on paper. When this element has been supplied, it will be immaterial whether the various historical societies and museums in the Western Presidency are federated or not. The true researcher will go to the material in whatever collection it may be. The University has money, and can give stipends to research students to work under you. That is the only way to success, so far as I can see.

Tonga Road,
Darjiling, P.O.
3rd Oct. 1927.

Arrived here on the 27th Sept. last and finished the शिव भारत...in the next four days, making an English marginal analysis of the Sanskrit text. The book is disappointing: it stops in 1661 and portions of it are undoubtedly imaginary. But certain other parts (esp. about Shahji) are so natural and plausible that I am inclined to accept them if these points in them on which we possess parallel light from Persian sources are found correct on comparison with the latter, e.g., the wars of Nizam Shah and Adil Shah. In fact the शिव भारत is of value (after a strictly critical sifting and comparison with other sources) only for Shahji and the youth of Shivaji, and no further.

Certain passages are purely fictitious, and some (I suspect) are modern interpolations,—viz. Shivaji's education and encyclopaedic knowledge, the details of hand to hand combats, &c Shahji's overpowering love for Jija[1] and Shiva.

The poem was professedly written (or dictated) by a Brahman pilgrim at Benares, shortly after 1670. From what source could he have given correctly long lists of the captains ranged on the two sides in battles fought as long as the reign of Jahangir and the earlier years of Shah Jahan (Canto IV, verses 10-32, ix, v. 32-35, xii. 2-10, xiii. 8-12, xxv. 36-55) ? A poor Brahman scholar could not have burdened himself with histories of Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, the Mughal empire &c. during a long and perilous journey from the Deccan to Northern India, nor could he have burdened his memory with the names of यवनs who fought 50 years ago! Therefore, he must have made these lists from his imagination or recollection of more recent battles,—or the poem was composed in Tanjore[1] in the late 18th century when the Persian histories of the above Muhammadan dynasties were all available. It is not a contemporary record even in the narrative portion.

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[1] Jijabai was the daughter of an eminent noble of Ahmadnagar, named Lakhji Yadav Rao who was the baron of Sindkhed. In November 1605 she was married to Shahji Bhosle to whom she bore two sons, Shambhuji and the great Shivaji. Her married life was not very happy. She was a pious and religious-minded lady and possessed a very noble character. She died in June 1674. (Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21-22, 31, 211; *Short History of Aurangzib*, 181; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 53, 61, 87, 88, 89, 213.)

But after all has been said against it, certain passages appear to me as true-seeming, and I shall cautiously use them in rewriting the history of Shahji and young Shivaji.

Calcutta,
2nd Jan. 1928.

I am delighted to receive your post-card giving the happy news of the Kota find. The publication of the material requires the effort of us two, not only by reason of our knowledge of the period, but also because we alone care for the thing and know how to push it through. We are both old, and must run a race with Time if the work is to be done at all.

9 Tonga Road,
Darjiling
27th Oct. 1928.

The rewriting of *Shivaji* is progressing rapidly, and, I hope, satisfactorily. I have (1) totally rejected Chitnis, Shiva digvijaya, Shedgaonkar, Tanjore shilalekh and Duff, and made a cautious, critical and selective use (to a fairly large extent) of the middle 18th century group of authorities, represented by Malkare and the 91 *qalmi bakhars* (or their

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[1] Tanjore or Tanjavur is the head-quarters of the Tanjore District of Madras. It served as the last capital of the Chola kings and became the seat of the government of the state of Tanjore under the Maratha chiefs from 1675-1882 when it passed into the British hands. Tanjore always remained a political, literary and religious centre in the south. There are the great pagoda, Nandi, Subramanya temple and the other temples and also a fort. The city is known for its jewellery, silk carpets and other artistic manufactures. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XIII, 196.)

Persian translation) as well as शिव भारत rejecting palpable errors in them. I am now favourably inclined towards शिव भारत ; and though certain parts of it are untrustworthy and later interpolations, there is much in it which is genuine and not a modern fabrication.

* * *

Where is Prabhavali[1] (or Prabhavanvalli) ? In the map of शिव भारत it is placed s.w. of Khelna[2] which is too far from Dabhol.[3]

But in the Persian *farmans* which you had sent to me at Benares, Dabhol is connected with Prabhavalli. Is P. an alias for a better known town, a sea port ?

Your family was connected with Sangameshwar[4], and therefore Prabhavalli must be close to Sangameshwar and not s.w. of Khelna.

Or, its the Dalvepur (Dabhol) of शिव भारत & Jedhe—which Shivaji took in Feb. 1661,—not the famous seaport Dabhol, but a smaller and inland place, named Dabhol which I find 10 miles west of Mahad ?[5]

As for पल्लीवन of *Shiva Bharat,* I cannot identify it (like Divekar) with *Pali*[6] east of Nagothna[7] but have reasons to place it furthur south at Palavna, 17.55° N. 73.12° E, 8 miles south of Mandangarh, which is 20 miles west of Poladpur;—or probably *Palgad* 8 m.n. of Khed[1] in the Ratnagiri[2] district.

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[1] "Prabhavali or Pravanvalli is just below Vishalgarh to the s.w. In old records Dabhol and Prabhavali are coupled together, though the two towns are far apart." (Sarkar, *Shivaji,* 84-88.)

Also see Sarkar's letter dated 27. 10. 28.

[2] Khelna also known as Vishalgarh is 38 miles north-west of Kolhapur and 13 miles west of Malkapur in Bombay State. (Sarkar, *House of Shivaji,* 191.)

[3] The town and port of Dabhol are situated in the Ratnagiri District of Bombay. It was the seat of a province of the Bijapur kingdom and carried on a brisk trade with Iran and the Red Sea ports during fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It has beautiful mosques. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India,* VI, 76-77.)

[4] Sangameshwar is situated 23 miles north-east of Ratnagiri town and 10 miles north-west of Devrukh in the Ratnagiri District of Bombay. It was the head-quarters of Sangameshwar Taluqa and a holy city. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India,* XII, 216 ; Sarkar, *Shivaji,* 84.)

[5] The town of Mahad is 15 miles south of Mangaon and 34 miles east of Bankot in the Kolaba District, Bombay. It is the chief town of the sub-division of Mahad. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India,* IX, 153-54.)

[6] The village of Pali is situated east of Nagothna and 25 miles north of Raigarh. It was renamed as Padshahpur when Prince Akbar after his flight to Sambhaji bagan to reside there. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas,* I, 296.)

[7] The town of Nagothna is 24 miles from the mouth of the river Amba in the Pen sub-division of Kolaba District, Bombay. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India,* X, 161.)

The place of Pratap Rao's death was probably near Kolhapur[3] and not the *Nesari*[4] near Belgaum[5] to which I referred in my last letter. Please make a search for it near Kolhapur & the Panhala district generally, it was a "narrow place between 2 hills."

9, Badur Bagan Row,
Calcutta,
22nd Jany., 1929.

I have plunged into Shambhuji, *i.e.*, the rewriting of the 4th Vol. of my *Aurangzib*. The Jaipur records copied for me since 1924 and Pissurlencar's second volume (received this month), as well as Jedhe and certain papers received from England after the 4th volume was printed (1919), are leading to revolutionary changes in my history of the reign of Shambhuji. Chitnis, Vol. 2, will have to be thrown entirely over board. It is astonishing how this writer has misled historians for a century.

16th March 1930.
Darjiling

I have received the Purandare Daftar, Vol. 2, here at Darjiling. The historical information supplied is extremely meagre and unimportant. .... statement in large type directed against me is a piece of dishonest misrepresentation, characteristic of an infernal liar like him. I have said that I have used all the Maratha materials on Shivaji available. Now, the only materials available are the printed ones, which are all in

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[1] Khed is situated on the river Jugbudi in the Ratnagiri District of Bombay. It is the head-quarters of the sub-division of Khed. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, VIII, 185-86.)

[2] Ratnagiri is a town in the District of the same name in Konkan in Bombay State, situated 136 miles south-east of Bombay. Open to the sea and standing on a rock the place is known for sardine fishery. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XII, 213.)

[3] Kolhapur was the capital of the old Kolhapur State and it is 76 miles south of Satara. Many relics of the Hindu and Buddhist temples are found here. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, VIII, 285.)

[4] The town of Nasari or Nesri lies on the north bank of the river Prabhagbata, at a distance of 45 miles south of Kolhapur, and 15 miles south-west of Belgaum. It has been misread as Jesari. (Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 196.)

[5] The town of Belgaum is 100 miles north-east of Goa. It is built on a rock at a height of 2,500 feet and is the head-quarters of the Belgaum District of Bombay State. It was captured by the British in 1818 from the Peshwa. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. II, 238.)

Balbodh and therefore can be read by me. In addition, the *Modi Shakavali* preserved in ms. in the Library of the Bombay Branch of the R. A. S. has been transcribed in *Balbodh* for me and used by me. No material, besides these, known to refer to Shivaji exists in ms. in Modi. I reject the *nibadpatras*, *mazharnamas* and worthless private documents of that kind of which thousands have been printed and many thousands more are lying in ms. in Modi. My claim is therefore true to the letter, while .... is making a lying suggestion that historical papers relating to Shivaji are definitely known to exist in unprinted Modi. If so, where are they ? My ignorance of Modi does not handicap me in the least, in view of the known condition and extent of Shivaji sources.

Sarkar-abas,
Darjiling,
22-4-30.

The report of the Council interpellations is returned to you under another cover. It is clear from some of the questions that you talk too much in a frank-hearted and open way about your own affairs and intentions, and those to whom you talk, as is the characteristic of our nation report your talk to your enemies (often without meaning any mischief, but out of an uncontrollable Asiatic habit.) You have now conclusive evidence of the base & vulgar character of the men who are raging like mad dogs out of jealousy at your fame, success (while drawing not a pice from the pension earned by a life's service) and opportunities of winning an undying name as the only historical explorer and revealer of the Peshwas daftar—which will cause Rajwade and Parasnis to be entirely forgotton by future historical workers. Therefore, friendliness or even common civility to such infernal swine should be carefully avoided in future, as I do in the case of the corrupt gang in Calcutta. No literary assistance is deserved at our hands by these wretches, nor by their friends and frequenters of their society.

You have now seen .... in his true colours ? With his elementary knowledge of the Marathi language and scanty collection of Marathi printed letters, he has presumed to run down your *Main Currents*, and why ? Is it to curry the favour of the .... gang ? His ludicrous mistranslations from Marathi and Portuguese, if made known to the general public of Bombay would add to the mirth of the scholarly world.

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9 Tonga Road,
Darjiling,
8th May 1930.

The most urgent work in connection with the Satara Museum is the copying out in *Balbodh* of all the despatches, news-letters and diaries relating to Mahadji Sindhia and earlier times from the Menvali daftar not already published by Parasnis. This work will not take more than two months' full time of a clerk on Rs. 60 a month. The unprinted transcripts made by Parasnis and the new ones proposed above may be immediately edited, dated and corrected by you in your Kamshet house, on the same lines as you are following in respect of the real State papers of the Puna daftar,—but as a private undertaking. I am prepared to send you Rs. 120 for this purpose as my contribution. But please do not mention my name nor the above proposal about copying the Menvali daftar to any one at Puna[1] or Bombay. Your supposed friends talk too much and do too little work ; many are jealous and secretly hostile.

I am specially anxious to get all the remaining Mahadji and pre-Panipat letters of the Menvali daftar at once copied in *Balbodh* so that I may use them, without having to wait ten years on the off chance of their being printed.

Darjiling,
6th July, 1930.

I am sure you have not delayed in sorting and copying the really important historical papers of the "Chitnisi" type found among these 505 *rumals*. It would be a prudent course to do so now.

When I visit Puna next I shall explore the Persian *rumals* discovered by you in this group....

I am firmly persuaded that your *Baji Rao* II Volume will fall far short of completion and accuracy if you do not work among the English printed sources such as I have here.

12/1 Duff Street
Calcutta,
18th Aug. 1930.

Recd. your sketch plan. I entirely approve of it ; indeed we had come to similar decision in our mutual discussions on 1st June last.

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[1] Poona is situated on the right bank of the Muta river, 119 miles south of Bombay. It has a military station to its north and there is also J. S. W. of the N. D. A. at Kharakwasla near it. The city has played an important part in history during the Maratha period. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XI, 210-14.)

Darjiling,
12th Oct. 1930.

From my engagements, as detailed overleaf, you will see that I cannot leave for Bombay before Christmas, —as, in addition to these I must finish writing 115 pages (in print) of 450 words each of the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. 4, before 31st Dec. next, besides preparing two long Convocation addresses immediately.

Engagements

15-17 Oct.	Examine Dacca M. A. papers.
22 Nov.	Deliver University Convocation address at Allahabad.
24 Nov.	Deliver University Convocation address at Patna.
24 Nov.	Marriage of daughter at Calcutta.
1 Dec.	Attend opening of the new-Bengal Council Chamber in Calcutta.
2-4 Dec.	Attend session of the Bengal Legislative Council.
22-23 Dec.	Attend session of the Records Commission at Patna.

Darjiling.
5 Nov. 1930

I shall attend the session of the Comn at Patna on the 22nd & 23rd Dec. next, and spend Dec. 25-28 at Agra, after which I can join you in a tour of the Southern Maratha country,—followed by visits to Paithan,[1] Daulatabad[2] and Assaye,[3] but I must be back in Calcutta by the end of January 1931.

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[1] Paithan is a town in Aurangabad District of the Bombay State, 30 miles south of the Aurangabad town. Having served as the capital of the Satkarni Dynasty during 130 B. C. to 180 A. D. it is one of the oldest towns of the Deccan and contains many Hindu temples. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, X, 530)

[2] The historic town of Daulatabad where Muhammad Tughlaq tried to shift his capital had its original name as Deogarh. It is 7 miles north-west of Aurangabad in the Bombay State. The fort there, known as Deogiri, stands on an isolated hill which is about 600 feet in height out of which the fort is partially carved. It was for the first time that the Muslims appeared in the Deccan in 1294 under Ala-ud-din Khalji and captured this fort and town. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, IV, 158-60.)

[3] Assaye is a village situated 43 miles north-east of Aurangabad. It was the scene of a battle in September 1803 between Sir Arthur Wellesley and Marathas under Daulat Rao Sindhia and Raghuji Bhosle.

18 B, Mohanlal Street
Calcutta,
1 March, 1931.

What you say about the contents of the unpublished Ist vol. (letters 1-151) fills me with anxiety. Is young Amrit Rao Parasnis[1] trying to play the game of getting more money out of the Gwalior Darbar as the price of yielding these documents up? If so, he deserves no sympathy or help from us in his distress. I should even advise Khase Sahib rather to leave vol 1 unpublished for ever than give any more money to such a designing money-loving plotter. The Chief of *Sangli*[2] might also be inclined, in such a case, to come down for the repayment of his undischarged loans.

Khase Sahib is planning to hold a conference early next month for the union of the Rajputs and the Maratha nobles. The idea is a noble one and no higher task can be set before Indian patriotism than to achieve this end. But the way is long and the obstacles (due to age-old prejudice and historical ignorance) many....I shall, however, comply with his second request, viz. to send him a signed article proving the affinity between these two warrior castes in the recorded past of our country. The article may be read at the conference, or better still a Hindi translation of it may be circulated widely as a pamphlet.

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9 Tonga Road,
Darjiling,
2nd April 1931

Enclosed are (1) the banner of the Mughal Emperors and (2) Akbar's Tomb for your School History. As for the insignia of the M. Emperors, the *Mahi muratib* will not do, as it was sometimes granted to nobles. The imperial army often carried two horse-tails hanging from a cross-bar (this being borrowed from their Turkish ancestors of Central Asia), which was not distinctive of the Indian Mughals. I have thought over the matter of your frontispiece, and rejected Sanchi[1], Rani Sipri's Tomb[2] (Ahmadabad), the Taj Mahal, Diwan-i-Am[3] (Agra) and similar alternatives.

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[1] Amrit Parasnis was the eldest son of Dattatreya B. Parasnis of Satara. Dattatreya was overburdened by debt and on his appeal he was granted an allowance of Rs. 300/-/- per mensem by the Bombay Government in consideration of his promise to hand over all his collections of historical manuscripts, books, papers and articles, etc. for the public use. After the death of Dattatreya, Amrit D Parasnis pleaded that the Government had no right to keep any of his father's collection in the Satara Museum unless the family was granted a perpetual pension of Rs. 500/-/- per mensem. The Bombay Government granted a hereditary pension of Rs. 200/-/- per mensem. Whilst awaiting of this pecuniary help from the Government Amrit bungled the affairs to the advantage of the family and did not hand over the entire collection of his father. (Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, 292-94.)

[2] The town of Sangli is situated on the river Krishna, 25 miles north-east of Kolhapur. It was the chief town of the old state of Sangli which comprised of six separate divisions. The last chief of the state was from the Patwardhan family of the Marathas. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XII, 218-19.)

9, Tonga Road,
Darjiling,
9th May, 1931.

I have sent back the Hyderabad professor's letter to you with a list of corrections of your School History. Have you received them ? The letter contains mere words, through which his desire to humour you is manifest, but it does not mean business nor the spirit of a true research scholar silently working in spite of difficulties, such as Qanungo is.

Khare[4], Vol 14, for which you have advanced Rs. 4/- on my behalf, has been received and delighted me immensely. I spent two days in reading and annotating it (from English state papers.) It gives just the information about Assaye that I was sighing for these many years. I must pay 6½ *as* to Khare's son for the postage, and repay your Rs. 4/......

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[1] The village of Sanchi is situated on the left bank of the Betwa, 5½ miles south-west of Bhilsa in Madhya Pradesh. It is known for the Buddhist remains, *e. g.* Stupas Vikaras, etc. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XII, 194-95.)

[2] The tomb was erected in 1505 A. D. There is a mosque attached to the mausoleum and is a "work of goldsmith-like delicacy." (Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (The Islamic Period), 57-58, 61.)

[3] *Diwan-i-Am* (Agra) was formerly built by Akbar in sand-stone and was replaced in 1627 by Emperor Shah Jahan when the architectural style had reached at its height.

[4] Vasudev Vaman Shastri Khare is best known to the students of history as a historian and to the Maharashtrians as a poet and dramatist. He was born on 5 August 1858 in a poor but learned Brahman family of village Ghughar in Ratnagiri district of Bombay State. Learning Sanskrit in orthodox Hindu way and earning subsistence for his family by writing for Marathi newspapers Khare led a very hard life after the death of his father. He got employment as a Sanskrit teacher at Miraj High School with the help of Lokmanya Balgangadhar Tilak who had been deeply impressed by Khare's zeal for scholarly pursuits. Khare's employment at Miraj opened a new vista in the Maratha History. Here be found with the family of Patwardhan Sardars bundles of papers relating to the later half of the eighteenth century. He scrutinised these papers and selected useful material from State papers, despatches, reports, printed letters and accounts, etc. The selections so made were published in a monthly magazine named *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*. Later on this matter was published in a book form. From 1897 to 1924 he was able to bring out 12 volumes covering the period right up to 1800 A. D. His son Yashwant later published two more volumes and brought the record up to July 1804.

Khare died in June 1924. A year before his death he was elected President of "The Poona Itihas Mandal" and a building was raised in his memory at Miraj, the place of his activities. (Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, 272-79.)

Darjiling.
24th May, 1931.

I entirely approve of your plan with regard to the Residency Records,- my only suggestion being that all letters (or news-reports) relating to a particular centre such as (1) the Delhi imperial Court & family,
(2) Ranjit Singh,
(3) the dynasty of Kabul,
(4) the Gaekwad, &c,
even when they extend over two or three years, should be placed in one packet (in chronological sequence), forming a clearly marked section, each by itself,—and not lumped together into bound volumes separated solely by years.

Hill's "*Home Mis. Catalogue*" is considered as the model of how this work is being done by scholars in England,—who have discarded the old mechanical arrangement (according to the dates of receipt, without subdivision into subjects) which the offices in British India have been following for the last hundred years or more, in oblivion of the change in methods of research in Europe. Correspondence for current official use is one thing, while archives or records for historical purposes belong to a different class and require a different method of handling.

* * *

Don't you ever propose to Government to take any research assistant or pupil from the Universities or the Native States. You cannot imagine the hard work involved in giving a preliminary training to these raw youths. It is like breaking a wild horse. Moreover, University candidates are not genuine seekers after historical knowledge ; their sole aim is to get a degree.

* * *

It would be great mistake for you to print your *Baji Rao* II Volume without reading and deeply meditating over Munro's letters on Indian society and politics.

Darjiling,
14th June, 1931.

I am glad that you gave me timely notice of the danger of sudden stoppage that is threatening the work in the Peshwas' Daftar. Today I have posted a letter to Mr. Hudson on the subject, copy enclosed (which need not be returned.) I shall go to Bombay immediately from Calcutta as soon as our Council (which opens on 20th July next, like the Bombay Council) is over, which will be at the end of July.

Don't worry yourself about the English records of the Residency Series. They have been mostly typed and can be arranged and edited at any time by a man at a distance, though the originals may have to be consulted now and then for correction of copyist's errors. This work can wait. Moreover, there are duplicates (or originals) of many of these despatches in the Imperial Record office, Calcutta, as I know from the copies that I have taken at a cost of Rs. 370/-.

But the Marathi records in the confused wilderness of the Peshwas' Daftar stand on a different footing altogether. It would be a public calamity if the work of exploring and sorting them is cut short now that the end of the task is almost in sight. When time has taken you away, the work cannot be properly done, even if Government resumes it after 4 or 5 years in a season of financial ease.

Darjiling,
1st July, 1931.

Mr. Hudson will soon issue orders for sending one set of your Selection to Sir Edward Gait in London. Please see that only the soon-to-be-issued bound volume is sent and not loose parts, as Englishmen (unlike Frenchmen and Portuguese) care to handle only bound books and dislike brochures in paper cover....... Please rewrite the whole thing, incorporating your recent researches by correcting or amplifying facts and character sketches, particularly about Mahadji Sindhia (in the light of Parasnis's 4 volumes.) The main point is to be lucid and concise at the same time. Useless and obsolete passages in your first edition should be ruthlessly cut out, and where possible the old writing should be condensed, in order to make room for the highly valuable and hitherto unknown new facts that you have now mastered. The mere insertion of your short introduction will not exactly fit into the texture of your book. You may even increase its size by 50 pages.

Darjiling,
3rd July, 1931.

I received your alarming news yesterday eveing. But by the post which left at noon that day I had already written to the Commissioner, C. D., asking him to move Govt. and get its sanction for my raising public subscriptions to meet the cost of research in the Peshwas' Daftar during 1932-33,—for that was the year during which Mr. Hudson said it would be impossible to make a budget grant.

9, Tonga Road,
Darjiling,
14 Aug. 1931.

I see no prospect of civil commotion abating in future; on the contrary public opinion in England and among Europeans in India has been roused to such bitterness that the Swarajists will soon have to test their strength against Britishers plus Muslims. The Hindus are so divided and so foolishly selfish that their majority does not count in actual politics. The atmosphere can clear only after a thunderstorm—after showers of blood.

* * *

Please keep our tour programme next winter strictly secret, or better still, mislead the rascals by carelessly saying that you would accompany me next December on a tour to Panipat, Delhi and Lahore—*i.e.*, the exact opposite direction. You talk too freely and too unsuspiciously, while you are surrounded by men who, when not rogues, are fools, and proclaim your plans and words to the Puna circle the very next evening, either out of maliciousness or a simple desire to display their own knowledge of your secrets. Our Maval[1] tour of 1930 was preceded by hostile printed hand bills signed by .... one of his tools, only because you had beaten the drum in advance in Puna. This time never mention Tanjore to any one there, or if you have done so, say that I am unable to go and that you have abandoned the Tanjore project for my new programme of a tour in N. W. India.

I shall reach Puna about the 17th of December next and give you a month and a half of my society. We ought to visit the S. Maratha country, then quickly go through Mysore and take Haidarabad on our way back.

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[1] Maval or Mawal is a sub-division of the Poona District, Bombay, with its head-quarters at Khardkala 30 miles north-west of Poona. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, IX, 375-76.)

Darjiling,
3rd Nov. 1931.

There is another correction necessary in Part 20, "*The Bhonsles*[1] *of Nagpur*."[2] The correct date of letter No. 49 is 2-12-1746 and not 21-2-1747 ?

This letter is identical in its contents with letter No. 29 (wrongly dated 17-12-42, should be 8-12-46.) The latter adds the information that Mir Jafar[3] had marched to Medinipur[4] side and fought Mir Habib[5] once or twice. We know from the English Factory Records (ms.), Bengal letter to England dated 30-11-1746, "A body of Marathas have continued at Midnapur..., under Mir Habib...Mir Jafar is now on his march with an army to dislodge them." Another letter (d. 22 Feb. 1747) says that Mir Jafar decisively routed the Marathas near Midnapur about 12th Dec. 1746.

* * *

P. S. Veniram should be everywhere changed into Janakiram (as in *Balbodh*)

Darjiling P. O.,
15 Nov. 1931

I shall be free to travel from 15 Dec. to 20 Jan. next, and it is important for me to know as early as possible whether you can accompany me during that period in that visit to Tanjore for which you have often urged me. If we go to Tanjore, Hyderabad will be on our way and we can quietly break our journey there for 2 or 3 days. You also told me that the South Maratha country had not been combed for historical documents and should be visited by you. So, the whole scheme depends upon you being free from engagements in Desh during 20 Dec. - 15 Jan. If you cannot go, I need not visit Poona next month, though I am anxious to go leisurely through the Persian papers of the Chief of Phaltan[1] if you can induce the Diwan to put us up there for 3 or 4 days.

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[1] The founder of the principality of Nagpur was Raghuji Bhosle who died in March 1755. Raghuji III was the last ruler and the Doctrine of Lapse was extended to the State on his death in 1853. (*The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, X, 166-68.)

[2] Nagpur is situated in the centre of the Nagpur District on a small stream, Nag. It was the capital of the old C. P. There are three finest tanks "Jama Talao", "Ambajhari" and "Teling Kheri" and the famous gardens, "Maharaj Bagh" and "Tulsi Bagh." The great Nakarkhana-gate of the Bhosle palace and the tombs of the Bhosle kings in the Shukravati quarters are the important remains in the city. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, X, 174.)

[3] Mir Jafar was the Commander-in-Chief of Alivardi Khan, the Nawab of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. He aspired to the Nawabship and, after Alivardi's death, began to conspire against his new master Siraj-ud-daulah whom he deceived at the battle of Plassey and became the Nawab in June 1757. He was deposed by the English in 1760 for intriguing against them, but was again reinstated in 1763. He died in 1765 and was buried at Murshidabad. (Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, 292.)

[4] *Medinipur or Midnapur* is 68 miles west of Calcutta on the north bank of the Kasai in West Bengal. It is the head-quarters of the District of the same name and formed the local centre of silk industry and indigo. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, IX, 443-44.)

[5] Mir Habib, an officer of Nawab Alivardi Khan, was captured by the Marathas during their incursion into Bengal in 1742. He at once transferred his allegiance to them and became their principal helpmate in invading Bengal. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, I, 45-6.)

Darjiling,
25 Nov. 1931.

I shall leave Patna in the night of 14th Dec. and reach Kalyan Jn. in the morning of the 16th (by the Calcutta mail via Jubbalpur[2]) and take the first train to Poona. If you secure permission in advance, I can start work in the A. O. on the 16th. From the 22nd Dec. to 6th or 7th Jan. we can go to Phaltan (& work there 3 days), Savantvadi,[3] (but not Mudhol[4]) &c. and visit Ellora,[5] Assaye and Ajanta (for sight seeing.) Thereafter I shall go alone to Hyderabad and return via Bombay to Agra.

Patna University,
11th Dec. 1931.

I am delivering my fifth lecture tonight and the sixth and last on Monday next, after which I shall leave for Gwalior, arriving there about

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[1] Phaltan was a small state, now included in Bombay. Phaltan family of the state had its origin from the Rajputs. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XI, 164-65.)

[2] Jubbulpore is the head-quarters of the District of the same name and is situated 165 miles north of Nagpur. It is a modern city surrounded with a number of lakes. The canton-ment there contains a big gun carriage factory. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, VII, 36.)

[3] Savantvadi also known as Wari or Sundarwari (Beautiful Garden), is situated 47 miles west of Belgaum. It was founded by Phond Sawant in 1670 and remained the chief town of the old state of Savantvari in Bombay. (Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 239; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XIII, 530-31.)

[4] Mudhol is a town in the old Mudhol state, 70 miles south-east of Kolhapur and 55 miles north-east of Belgaum (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, IX, 528.)

[5] Ellora or Eluru or Verul is a village known for its famous rock cave temples and carvings. It is 7 miles north-west of Daulatabad and 13 miles north-west of Aurangabad in Bombay. There are enshrined the statues of the Hindu gods and goddesses, the Buddha, the Mahavira, etc. The Kailash temple is the most important of all the cave temples and is complete in all its parts. Its beauty and singularity astonishes the tourists. It is also described by Furguson "as one of the most wonderful and interesting monuments of the architectural art in India." (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, IV, 348-51.)

9. 43 p. m. on Tuesday the 15th. If I can leave Gwalior at 4. 30. a. m. on the 18th, I shall reach Poona at 11. 35 a. m. on the 19th (Saturday.)

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18 B, Mohanlal Street,
Shambazar P. O.,
Calcutta,
4th Feb. 1932.

And now the Legislative Council demands my daily attendance ; but I have finally made up my mind to resign my seat (nominated) at the end of the present Budget session.

Yes, you may send me C. V. Vaidya's *Shivaji* and I shall send back to you a list of the glaring mistakes in it with evidence (for incorporation in your review.) I find that the Shivacharitra Sahitya letters establish the importance of Shahji 1620-1627 as a landholder and commander in the Poona quarter and also throw light on Shivaji's doings about 1646, but they are far from proving that Shahji was an *amir wazir* or supreme divisional commander before 1628, or that Shivaji's doings in 1646 were those of a sovereign prince. There were hundreds of contemporary men of exactly the same status and power as Shahji was during 1620-1627 (however great he may have made himself later), and Shivaji in 1646 was a mere rising rebel chieftain—not a Sovereign Rajah. These two facts are quite forgotten or muddled up with later history, by the Poona school. So, you see, my position remains unassailed in the eyes of sober historians outside. What was the value of the Poona *Jagir* (of which fragments only were held by Shahji or Shivaji in 1646) as compared with any principality ? Nothing. Every *Jagirdar* was trying to extend his dominions by seizing neighbouring *mahals* during those times of unrest and dissolution of old monarchies, but none of them claimed to be a founder of हिन्दवी स्वराज. Your Poona friends are reading the history of 1674 backwards into the events of 1620-1627 and 1646.

Since leaving you I have discovered a very old and neatly written ms. of Kasi Rao's original Persian narrative (copied in 1784 ! ! !) and I am trying to get a transcript of it. But please keep the news strictly secret till I have secured the transcript. I shall then compare it with Brown's translation and report my opinion to you.

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18 B, Mohanlal Street,
Shambazar,
Calcutta,
11-3-32.

I have made an English trans. of the contemporary *Delhi Shakavali* (Persian) from 1754-1766, and may send it to you.

Darjiling,
25 April 1932.

I am now working hard at the actual writing of the History of the *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, after wasting the first three months of the present year in Calcutta and the first half of April in doing examination work for certain universities. Progress in actual composition is unexpectedly slow, because attention has to be paid to style and not everything that I know from the sources can be put in. I have finished (finally) 1739-1748, and am composing the chapters for 1748-1754, of which the raw material had been worked through, translated and arranged as early as Nov. last.

My little grandson, aged 10 months,—Abani's son, dotes on me, and therefore has hitherto taken much of my day time ! ! !

* * *

As for the battle of Shakarkheda[1] if you turn to Irvine's *Later Mughals*, vol. II, p. 143 and 144, you will find that the Maratha contingent bore the brunt of the first day's fighting and it was no wonder that so many of their sardars fell ; on p. 149 is given the reason why they joined Baji Rao[2] and not Mubariz Khan.[1]

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[1] *Sukharkheda* or Shakarkheda is about 50 miles east of Aurangabad situated on the bank of the Purna in the District of Mekhar of Bombay State. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 81.)

[2] Baji Rao I was the son of Balaji Vishwanath, the first Peshwa and was born on 18 August 1700. After his father's death in April 1720 he became the Peshwa. He embarked upon Maratha imperialism and extended the Maratha dominions in all directions. He had a rare genius for military purposes and great capacity for leadership. He was an excellent administrator, great diplomat and statesman and perfect soldier. Since 1730 he had developed great infatuation for a dancing girl named Mastani and this love affair greatly undermined his reputation. He died on 28 April 1740. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 27, 44, 65, 66, 74, 78, 88, 95, 97, 99, 101, 102-4, 137, 139, 143-45, 150-60, 164-68, 178-83; *Main Currents of Maratha History*, 110..114, 115, 116 ; Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, I, 38.)

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9 Tonga Road,
Darjiling,
8th May, 1932.

Your long letter of the 2nd inst. has been anything but a bore to me. Indeed, it has been finest tonic to me for many years——a डोंगरे चा वृद्धामृत

I have not been able to trace the petty Begs of Junnar, at least with the time at my disposal. Your other questions are all answered separately.

Darjiling,
19 June 1932.

Give me the exact references to the various places where I can find the movements (with dates) of the Peshwas from 1734 to 1760. I wish to be sure of the dates of Baji Rao's visit to the Rana of Udaipur[2]—(1734 or 35 ?) Balaji Rao could not have visited the Emperor in Delhi in March-April 1748 (Select. 2, letter 9 merely reports the bazar gossip of a *qasid.*) The date was very likely different.

Darjiling,
9 July 1932.

After three weeks of concentrated labour and distracting doubts, I have settled the Rajput—Maratha chronology for 1729-1761. Please answer the question raised in annexed list of corrections.

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[1] Khwajah Muhammad (entitled Mubariz Khan) belonged to Balkh and had emigrated to India with his mother. He was appointed Bakhshi to Aurangzeb's youngest son, Kam Bakhsh. Soon afterwards, he was given the post of faujdar of Sangamner and granted the title of Amanat Khan. In 1710 he was sent to the Government of Gujrat and in 1712 to Malwa where he got the title of Shahamat Khan. In 1713, he was again transferred to Gujrat but after two weeks he was appointed to the governorship of Hyderabad. He held this office for nearly 12 years and the titles of Imad-ul-mulk, Mubariz Khan Bahadur, Hizbar Jang were conferred on him. He died at the height of his greatness at Shakarkheda in 1724 in a fight against the rebel wazir Nizam-ul-mulk Asaf Jah who laid the foundation of the Nizam Dynasty in Hyderabad (Deccan). (Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, 138-48 ; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 74-75, 80, 81, 82)

[2] *Udaipur* is a famous town in Rajasthan. It was the capital of the old state of Mewar or Udaipur. It contains a palace built on the bank of a lake facing the wooded mountains which presents an extremely beautiful scene. Maharana Udai Singh after losing Chitor to Akbar in 1568 repaired it. It was captured by Mughals in 1577 but Maharana Pratap took it back from them in 1586. In 1769 the Marathas besieged the city under Mahadji Sindhia but did not conquer it. Besides the great palace the city is known for the other palaces Jagmandir, and Jagniwas, the temples of Jagannath and Eklingji, lakes and its cemetery known as Mahasatti. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XIII, 409-11.)

As for my suggested date for ii, 5 & 6, Kulkarni is quite right. My mistake arose from my conjecture that Mangrol[1] was a Maratha corruption for Bagru. The battle of Bagru is known to have been fought in 1748. Mangrol, I now find on my maps, was quite a different place, in the Kota[2] territory ; here another battle was fought in 1761.

Darjiling,
19th July, 1932.

Please let me know, when you have leisure to write, what is the exact shortage of funds for the work in the Peshwa Daftar this year and exactly what *rumals* will remain unexplored and what selections unedited if no more money is subscribed. I am thinking of appealing to the Patiala Darbar, because the founder of that dynasty, Rajah Ala Singh (Jat), figures in several of the documents referring to the Panjab c. 1748-1765 (the last being the year of his death.) Patiala is keen on the history of his house ; of course, his idea of research being that he should be proved a pure Kshatriya or Rajput. Unless there is urgent need and a really valuable source will be tapped with the additional money, I am not inclined to appeal to Patiala or elsewhere.

* * *

In the contemplated Deccan tour of December next, I shall be glad to visit the non-Brahman Jagat-guru. What pains me, however, is to eat the rice of poor people (like those whom we visited last December at Kutro &c.) without being able to give them anything in return. Professor Nilakanta Shastri, Madras University, may give you a typed copy of the report of his pupil who has explored the Matathi *rumals* in the Tanjore Library. Please call for it and judge for yourself whether we should visit Tanjore next December or not.

The history of the *Fall of the Mughal Empire* is growing larger than my plan, as I am making detailed and critical investigation of each of its branches, and hence I am falling behind my programme in point of time. But the new light one gains is enthralling.

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[1] Mangrol is a town 35 miles east of Kotah in Rajasthan. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II, 508 ; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, IX, 317.)

[2] Kota or Kotah was a chief's state in Rajasthan with its capital of the same name. The territory of Kotah was an offshoot of the Bundi State. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, VIII, 303-305.)

and not Mubariz Khan.[1]

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9 Tonga Road,
Darjiling,
8th May, 1932.

Your long letter of the 2nd inst. has been anything but a bore to me. Indeed, it has been finest tonic to me for many years——a डोंगरे चा वृद्धामृत

I have not been able to trace the petty Begs of Junnar, at least with the time at my disposal. Your other questions are all answered separately.

Darjiling,
19 June 1932.

Give me the exact references to the various places where I can find the movements (with dates) of the Peshwas from 1734 to 1760. I wish to be sure of the dates of Baji Rao's visit to the Rana of Udaipur[2]—(1734 or 35 ?) Balaji Rao could not have visited the Emperor in Delhi in March-April 1748 (Select. 2, letter 9 merely reports the bazar gossip of a *qasid.*) The date was very likely different.

Darjiling,
9 July 1932.

After three weeks of concentrated labour and distracting doubts, I have settled the Rajput—Maratha chronology for 1729-1761. Please answer the question raised in annexed list of corrections.

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Darjiling,
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[2] Kota or Kotah was a chief's state in Rajasthan with its capital of the same name. The territory of Kotah was an offshoot of the Bundi State. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, VIII, 303-305.)

Darjiling,
22nd July, 1932.

You need not be apologetic at all in writing to me on questions arising in connection with the work at the Peshwas' Daftar, nor in seeking my literary aid in the matter of correction of drafts. The longer your letter, the greater is my pleasure in reading it, and any help I can give in finishing your Selections for the public eye is an honour to me.

The draft preface to the Index has been entirely rewritten. You were quite right in disliking the original draft. You should get my draft typed and sent to Rawlinson for approval with the clear intimation that it is my writing, so that he may save himself needless trouble. The rejected draft is posted back to you under another cover.

Send me the ms. of your Handbook and I shall promptly revise it. Why have I received not more than 4 pages in proof of Part 27 ? Leave orders to have future sheets sent to me regularly as received from the Press.

1. My Patna lectures cannot go into any detail about Raghuji Bhonsle's quarrels with Balaji in Berar. The next three lectures (completing the history of Maratha connection with Bengal & Orissa) will be soon presented to you in proof.

2. You are quite right in your suggestions about the lines on which your Handbook should be compiled.

3. I still differ from you and hold the view that it is not necesssary to work in the A. O. in order to prepare a Chronology. A library—with works in six or seven languages—like mine, is indispensably necessary for the purpose and your whole Bombay Presidency, does not contain a single full or even decent library of Indian history like mine. If you prepare a Chronology I can revise and supplement it from my non-Marathi sources of various kinds here.

4. The Residency Records have all been typed. The work of selection of what is to be printed and of adding notes to them can be best done by me—if I am entrusted with the work, or a part of it,—in my library here, and my presence at the A. O. is absolutely unnecessary for the purpose, except to fill up the gaps by reference to the original in doubtful cases, which can be done in a week's stay in Poona. If I am not trusted with one out of the 4 sets of the typed Res. Records, Govt. must go elsewhere for the work.

5. I intend to spend a week about the middle of December next in Hyderabad and then the whole of January with you in touring. The

question of appealing to the Southern States for money to finance the printing of the Residency Records may then be decided. At present do not risk the completion of your Marathi exploration by undertaking this fresh burden.

6. As for young Parasnis, I entirely agree with you that unless he is threatened by Govt with a cut in his perpetual pension, he will not disgorge the illegally detained records. Furnish me with full details so that I may approach Govt on the subject. A personal visit from me to the Hon'ble Revenue Member would have been most effective, but it is impossible for me before Dec. next.

I have resigned from the Legislative Council of Bengal.

Darjiling,
15th Sep. 1932.

The name of the Portuguese officer was Colonel Jacques Filippe de Landreset and he was second in command of the Portuguese contingent sent to co-operate with the Peshwa's forces, and never Governor of Goa.

As far Part 14, letter 14, you now say that the date was 1st April 1736. But Vaisākh Shudhi, Pratipad Soma vāsar was in 1734, Tuesday 22 April in 1735 Saturday, 12th April and in 1736 Thursday, 1st April.

If सोमवासर means Monday, how can you give the year as 1736 or even as 1735 ? The only year that yields Monday is 1734.

[*This is not clear. Ed.*]

As far 1734, on Vaisakh Sudh Pratipad of that year, Malhar[1] and Holkar[2] were besieging Bundi[1] and not Merta.[2] There was a Solar eclipse the day before.

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[1] This is obviously a slip of the pen. Sardesai in his own handwriting strikes off 'Malhar' and adds the name of Ranoji to it. In fact Bundi at this time was besieged both by Malhar Rao Holkar and Ranoji Sindhia. This place was captured by them on 12 April 1734. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 146.)

Ranoji Sindhia first obtained service under Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath and distinguished himself as a man of great ability. He served in many a campaign and assisted his patron, Malhar Rao Holkar and Baji Rao I in extending the Maratha supremacy over Malwa and Bundelkhand. He died in July 1745. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 47, 101, 145, 151, 157, 200, 232-33; Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, IV, 75.)

[2] Malhar Rao Holkar, the Maratha general, was a shepherd by caste. He began his career under Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath and after his death became a close associate of his son, Peshwa Baji Rao I. He led many an expedition and took part in numerous battles. He was an adept in guerrilla warfare and was the "ablest cavalry leader among the Marathas." (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 126, 145, 153, 157, 194, 201, 379, 385, 396-97, 400-1, 402, 411, 412, 421, 422, 442, 451, 467, 502, 504, 505, 597; Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II, 155-59, 195-98, 228-29, 233-34, 248, 343-44, 365-67, 470-74; IV, 75.)

* * *

I had to write a long and strong note, as external examiner of a thesis on "Old Fort William and the Black Hole" by Bhaba, a pupil of Father Heras, and Father Heras wrote to me to put the candidate up to a higher class as a "personal favour to me" ! ! ! Of course, I gave him the reply that he deserved. If you are an examiner this year, please read my report (lodged with the Registrar.) If you are not, please inquire through your friends at the University, how my report was received by the full board and what mischief Heras has been trying to make.

Darjiling,
11 Nov. 1932.

I propose to visit Poona (3 weeks), then the Kshatriya Jagatguru (as arranged by you), then Hyderabad (1 week including Ajanta and Assaye), then Bangalore and Tanjore, if you can manage to go to Tanjore. Otherwise I shall cut the last two places out and return to Poona from Hyderabad.

Darjiling,
27th March, 1933.

Your letter of the 19th instant clearly shows how very much fatigued you are. It is not due to old age or physical weakness. It is, I believe, the natural reaction after four years' strenuous exertion at the A. O., in the midst of every possible distraction and obstruction from malicious rivals and the ignorant credulous deluged public that feeds on newspapers. Your wonderful strength of purpose and ingrained habits of methodical work alone have enabled you to reach the completion of the task. And now you have to pay the price of it.

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[1] Bundi is a picturesque city only next to Udaipur in Rajasthan It is built on a steep hill and has uneven streets, enclosed by a wall for its fortification with four main gates. The fort is situated at the summit of the ridge whose spur is surrounded by a very beautiful umbrella called Suraj. Bundi has also many temples and gardens which add to its beauty. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, III, 159-60.)

[2] The town of Merta is 36 miles north-east of Jodhpur in Rajasthan. Surrounded by a wall, with its numerous temples, Merta has many stone pillars round about it commemorating the former battles. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, IX, 415.)

The intoxication of work, --especially a work on which one has set his heart, —makes us forgetful of everything else,—external disturbances, physical fatigue, even the sadness of bereavement. But when the work is finished and leisure is gained at last, then comes the lassitude of body and mind, exactly as the drunkard feels when the excitement of alcohol is over and he sinks into enervation of body and depression of mind.

You are now going through this stage of reaction—mental, but happily not physical, and as a doctor [Homeopath—*Ed.*] I must advise you to take absolute rest for one month, amusing your mind by light reading, especially English books, memoirs, travels, such as Forbe's *Oriental Memoirs, the Life of Munro,* &c.

* * *

Writing a history that will live requires not only mere industry (a copyist's industry) in collecting materials, but what is far higher, —extensive reading (not narrow specialised study), power of deep thinking and connecting together the near and the distant, things Indian and foreign (by way of comparative estimate and liberal interpretation), and a certain advance in age. ......The true historian's function is that of the stomach in digesting and extracting the vital juice from the raw food stuff passed down the throat. That you alone can do, and even you can do now and not when you began your *Riyasat* in Baroda 27 years ago as a novice in this field with a limited horizon.

* * *

Let me show you the immense importance of the Persian ms. sources for Maratha doings in N. India, by some concrete instances. Besides the *Life of Najib*[1], which I have translated in full and which you admit to be a first rate source on the entire Panipat campaign, I am now translating a Persian *History of Alamgir* II[2] (1757-59), 456 pages, which gives daily details of the marches and diplomacy of Raghunath Dada[1] and Malhar near Delhi in 1754-55, and later of their doings in N. India in 1756-7.

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[1] Najib Khan, later known as Najib-ud-daulah, belonged to the Umr Khail clan of the Afghans and had emigrated to India with his son. He began his career as a foot-soldier under Ali Muhammad Rohilla, and due to his ability and skill he gradually rose to a very high position, that of the Dictator of the Mughal Empire. He had an inborn genius for military organisation and was considered the greatest general of his times except Ahmad Shah Abdali, his patron, with whose active support he had established himself as Regent of the Mughal Empire. His administrative talents were as great as his military genius. He maintained his position and power for a decade and died on 31 October 1770. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II, 377-78, 382, 383, 384, 403, 404, 414-16 ; III, 23, 44-45 ; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 364, 365, 396, 406, 418, 419, 420, 423, 429, 445, 504, 510.)

[2] Originally called Aziz-ud-din, the youngest son of the Emperor Muiz-ud-din Jahandar Shah and a grandson of Shah Alam I, was born at Multan on 6 June 1699. In 1754, Imad-ul-mulk, the selfish wazir, who had deposed the Emperor Ahmad Shah, released him and placed him on the throne as Alamgir II. He had been leading a life of poverty, want and seclusion

Darjiling,
26th May, 1933.

I have just finished working through all the Persian and Marathi sources for 1754-1761, but not yet written a single line of my book. In the course of this study I have made many corrections of dates in Rajwade's volumes and also in the *Select. Pesh. Daftar,* parts 2 and 27. It is too late now to insert the corrections in Part 27.

Darjiling,
15th July, 1933.

I am doing well and progressing rather slowly through Delhi history during 1754-1761.

* * *

The Peshwa Roz-nishi, published in Rajwade Vol 2, is a very modern compilation made after 1820. How can it be an authority for the events of 1728-60 ? Dighe is wrong in blindly following it. Rajwade's

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since the accesion of Farrukh Siyar in 1713. The circumstances luckily did not allow him to fall into a course of vice, and he had spent over 40 years of his retired life in religious devotion and study of books, especially of history. He came to the throne with the determination to work as strenuously and carefully as his great grandfather Aurangzeb, whose title he had imitated ; but he singularly failed in his aims because of his failing health, weak character, incapacity for leadership and the overriding influence of his Wazir who got him assassinated on 29 November 1759. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire,* II, 1-5, 213-15 ; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas,* II, 379, 380, 409 ; Gupta, *Studies in Later Mughal History of the Panjab,* 19, 177.)

[1] Raghunath Rao, also known as Raghunath Dada and Raghuba, was the son of Peshwa Baji Rao I. and the father of the last Peshwa, Baji Rao II. He was selfish, boastful and treacherous, and still worse, be was immoral and indulged in excessive licentiousness. He was weak and hesitating too. He got assassinated Peshwa Narayan Rao, his nephew, on 30 August 1773 and installed himself in the Peshwaship. This heinous crime, at once, covered him with infamy and the people rose against him In consequence he had to flee to Surat in February 1775. To regain the Peshwaship he intrigued with the English and in September 1781 he sent envoys to George III., the King of England. He surrendered himself to the Maratha troops in January 1783 giving up his claim to the Peshwaship. Raghunath Rao died on 11 December 1783. (Sardesai, *New History* of the Marathas, II, 193, 342, 375—77, 379, 380, 397, 399—403, 465—67, 471, 473, 476, 488-90, 491, 507—8, 521—26 ; III, 13, 18, 25—28, 29—32, 37—8, 40—41, 44 —45, 47, 48, 49, 50, 63, 79, 84—85, 87—88, 93—94, 124—127 ; *Main Currents of Maratha History,* 141, 142, 154, 156, 160, 161, 172 ; Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire,* II, 14—22, 146—48, 155—61, 358 ; III, 172 ; IV, 134.)

second volume has not the same authenticity and value as the diary given in Selections 27 for Dada Sahib 1753-55.

Darjiling,
19th July, 1933.

I do not share your optimism about an impetus being given to the exploration of regional histories. The failure of the Maharashtra University scheme is quite irrelevant to the issue. Whence will come the professors who will honestly and industriously take up this work of research ? They are a lazy lot, and your University authorities are utterly ignorant of the needs of scholarship and indifferent to learning.

Bakhle is a jewel. With him as Secretary, the Satara Hist. Soc. will do real work, in spite of their paucity of materials and of learned books. If he had been Secretary to the Mandal and had been given the necessary power, he would have worked wonders.

Darjiling
17th Aug. 1933.

दिल्लीन्द्रपदलिप्सवः is plural. So the verse means that Jai Singh[1] defeated Shivaji and others (at least three, possibly a dozen men) who aspired to the seat of the master of Delhi. Are you prepared to go to the absurdity of Rajwade and be responsible for the opinion that about a dozen men (at least three) tried to establish Hindu Pat Padshahi during the ten years that Jai Singh served Aurangzib ? Remember that this verse applies to प्रभृतयः with as much force as to Shivaji. This interpretation would make your book ridiculous. I have gone through all the extant contemporary papers on Shivaji, but he nowhere claims to be an aspirant for the throne of Delhi.

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[1] Mirza Raja Jai Singh, one of the most distinguished Mughal generals, first entered the Mughal army in 1617 when he was only eight years old. He served with distinction in the campaigns in Central Asia and the Deccan earning reputation as a man of great personal bravery. He was a bold and gallant soldier and in diplomacy he was hardly surpassed by any one. He most loyally served under three Emperors, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. He won many brilliant victories thus establishing his reputation as a general and shrewd diplomatist. In September 1664 he was appointed the viceroy of the Deccan and commissioned to punish Shivaji. He subdued Shivaji but due to his failure against Bijapur, he went out of favour with Aurangzeb and was removed from the viceroyalty. Disappointed and disgraced, he died at Burhanpur on 28 August 1667. "Like Walsingham of Elizabeth's Court", says Sir J. N. Sarkar, "he died a bankrupt after serving too faithfully an exacting but thankless master." (Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 103-4, 105, 106-8, 111-123, 125-27, 129, 134, 160; *House of Shivaji*, 101, 102, 103-5, 118, 121, 123, 125; *History of Aurangzib*, IV, 75-76, 148, 150; *Short History of Aurangzib*, 196, 198-200, 229-33, 234; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 154, 168, 182-83.)

Darjiling,
13 Sep. 1933.

Please refer to G. C. Vad's *Selection from Ps' Diaries, Balaji Baji Rao,* vol II. p. २२६. There is no mention of a halt at *Palkhed,*[1] and one entire month is missing, namely रविलाखर (5 Nov.—3 Dec. 1727.) This is important, because the Persian history of the Nizam[2] says that he repulsed Baji Rao on 6th November. Cannot this missing month be traced among the original papers in the Alienation Office,—at least can you not compare Vad's page with the original & correct it for me? You helped me in this way in respect of Nana Sahib's[3] march to Bengal in 1743.

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[1] Palkhed:—Vide Sarkar to Sardesai, 20. 9. 1933.

[2] Mir *Qamar-ud-din*, commonly known by his titles Nizam-ul-mulk and Asaf Jah, was the founder of Hyderabad State. He was the son of Ghazi-ud-din Khan and was born on 11 August 1671. His family hailed from Samarqand and his mother was the daughter of Shah Jahan's celebrated scholarly wazir, Sadullah Khan. He first obtained service under the Mughals about 1683 and was appointed to the viceroyalty of the Deccan in February 1713. He held this office till April 1715 when he was removed to the faujdari of Moradabad and in 1719 he got appointment to the government of Malwa. When summoned to Delhi he declined to obey imperial orders and proceeded to the Deccan crossing the Narbada in May 1720. The Emperor, however, pardoned him and in 1722 installed him in the premiership but he resigned his office in 1724. He was a great military leader and achieved many a triumph of diplomacy. In June 1725 he was confirmed in the government of the Deccan. He held this position till his death on 2 May 1748. (Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I, 268-72; II, 16-50, 105-7, 131-54, 299-306; Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II, 101, 191; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 24, 32, 43, 46, 57, 70-75, 76, 80-84, 90-100, 123, 126, 129, 155-160, 163, 180, 191, 195-8, 257-8, 319.)

[3] Balaji Baji Rao, also known as Nana Sahib, was born on 12 December 1721. He was the eldest son of Peshwa Baji Rao I and succeeded to the Peshwaship in June 1740. He was a man of amiable temper and was greatly loved by the people. He possessed considerable talents and energy but in leadership and military genius he was inferior to his father. Thus the military campaigns were generally conducted by his able and trusted lieutenants who won laurels of victory for him. He continued the policy of Maratha imperialism and the fame of the "Peshwa resounded from the Indus river to the southern seas." (*History of the Maratha People*, vol. III, pp. 76-77 quoted by G. S. Sardesai, II, 461.) His wise management of state finances, his diplomatic tact and pacific nature in civil and military matters set the state on the road to progress. The news of the Maratha disaster at Panipat in January 1761 proved fatal for his already failing health and he died on 23 June 1761. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 146, 192-93, 195 197-98, 216, 219, 229, 231, 237, 240-46 265, 290, 296, 300, 305, 308. 310-12, 322-25, 326, 327-29, 331-2, 334, 336, 342, 357, 363, 375, 415-16, 450, 451, 457-61; *Main Currents of Maratha History*, 125, 127-30, 192, 194, 196, 205-207; Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II, 359-60.)

Darjiling,
20 Sep. 1933.

Eureka ! I have found Palkhed on the map, and I wonder how I missed it when I searched for it 3 years ago at your request. The scene of the battle is a Palkhed 10 m. east of Baizapur[1] and 20 m. west of Daulatabad, and cannot be two other Palkheds which are given on the same sheet, near Nasik. One of the latter is only 15 miles from Dindori[2] where Shivaji defeated Ikhlas Kh.[3] in 1671.[4] As Asaf Jah started from Ahmadnagar on 22 Feb, and the battle of Palkhed was fought on 25 Feb, ...he could not have arrived near Nasik. Baji Rao returned from Betavad (n. of Dhulia)[5] by the Kassari pass (s. w. of Chalisgaon)[6]—which is due north of Baizapur. So the battle took place where I have located Palkhed.

Calcutta,
23rd Sep. 1933.

The Persian *farman* to Jedhe (issued by Adil Shah), calling Shahji a rebel ("accursed" *mardud*) and Dadaji[7] as his regent (*mutaliq*) which I translated into English has been reproduced in the supplement to last year's *Mandal Quarterly* with a Marathi translation. As far Najibud-daulah, I shall send you my transn when I return to Dj.

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[1] The town of Baizapur is 19 miles west of Aurangabad in Bombay State.

[2] Dindori is situated 28 miles south-west of Chanda and 15 miles north of Nasik in Bombay State. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, IV, 302.)

[3] Abdul Muhammad, entitled Ikhlas Khan, was the son of Abdul Qadir bin Bahlol Khan, formerly a Pathan leader of Bijapur. He joined the Mughal army in November 1665 and was given title of Ikhlas Khan about February 1669 for his military efficiency. He was defeated by Shivaji in the battle of Dindori on 17 October 1670. (Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, 61 ; *Shivaji*, 176-77.)

[4] The correct date is 1670. Vide Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, 61 ; *Shivaji*, 177.

[5] Dhulia is a town 30 miles north of Chalisgaon on the right side of the Penjehra river. It is the head-quarters of the Khandesh District of Bombay. There is a fort built by Farrukhi Kings. The town was known for its saris. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, IV, 280.)

[6] Chalisgaon is a town in the Khandesh District of the Bombay State and it is 30 miles south of Dhulia. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, III, 328.)

[7] Dadaji Kond-dev, Shahji's land-steward, was formerly a Kulkarni of Malthan. He was engaged by Shahji to administer his Poona *Jagir* and to act as the guardian of young Shivaji. Just, agile and alert, he managed the *jagir* with great tact and honesty. Dadaji died on 7 March 1647. (Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 19, 21, 24, 25, 27, 29, 31, 32; *History of Aurangzib*, IV, 26 ; Short History of Aurangzib, 182; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 91-94, 102.)

Darjiling,
25-10-33.

I have finished my study of the early Nizams and corrected Grant Duff in many points,—also your *S.P.D.*, e.g., Baji Rao's first visit to the Nizam was paid at Christmas 1732 and not in March 1728 ; the treaty of Shevgaon,[1] if signed at Shevgaon, was dated 11th March 1728.

Darjiling,
8 Dec. 1933.

I am writing full English translations of all the reliable original Persian accounts of Panipat, and if any Maharajah will pay Rs 3,200 for the cost of the photographs of mss. secured from England, typing & printing charges, I can print these in a book form !!!

* * *

I have now identified every small place in Balaji's incursion into Bengal in March, 1743, the Palkhed campaign 1727-8, and Dada's journey to the Ganges, Jan 1755.

Ghoramara P. O.
(Rajshahi Dt. Bengal)
13 Jany. 1934.

I am now using all my leisure in writing the 2nd vol. of my *Fall*, without a breathing space for any other work.......... The subject is growing in my hands, and I have today reached only the end of 1758 (Dada's return from the North) and numerous corrections of dates in Selections 2, 21 and 27. An early life of Mahadji written by Nuruddin Hasan Kh. Malet's[2] *munshi* and the author of that *life of Najib*) for Malet in 1779 has reached me from London. This, and the Berlin ms. tell an altogether unknown story about Ranoji and young Mahadji upto 1761.

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[1] Shevgaon is a town and the head-quarter of the sub-division of Shevgaon in the Ahmadnagar District of Bombay State. It is situated 40 miles north-east of Ahmadnagar city. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XII, 410.)

[2] Malet, Sir Charles Warre, Baronet, was born in 1752 and entered East India Company's service in 1770. He knew Persian and Hindustani and was appointed Resident at Poona in 1785. He played a prominent part in weakening the Maratha power "So far as Poona and Western India were concerned", says Dr. G S. Sardesai, " the twelve years period of Malet's residency significantly affected not only the course of Maratha politics, but the social life of the nation in its various aspects as well. The charming descriptions of sport, amusements, athletics, horsemanship, visits, dinners, fireworks, given by Malet in his correspondence, disclose significant influences upon Maratha life centring round the Peshwa's Court." (Sardesai. *New History of the Marathas*, III, 179, 183—85, 194—99, 285 ; Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, 271.)

* * *

Dilir Khan's[1] failure in the invasion of Bijapur and Wagingera[2] (1680-81) is fully described in my vol IV and the cause of Aurangzib's displeasure with him in the Essay on Azamshah[3] in my *Studies in Aurangzib's Reign (1933.)*

* * *

The Selections on the 1st Maratha War and the Nizam 1761—are extremely disappointing & barren.

Ghoramara P.O.,
27-2-34.

Sadashiv Rao's[4] route north of the Narmada[5] was via Bersia[6]

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[1] Dilir Khan was one of the greatest generals of Aurangzeb. He was an interpid soldier and served his master most loyally. But his quarrel with Prince Muazzam who poisoned the ears of the Emperor against him about his failure before Bijapur and his suspected sympathy towards the rebel prince Akbar degraded him in the eyes of the Emperor. In consequence, he committed suicide to escape the Emperor's wrath. But according to Sir J. N. Sarkar, he "died a natural death about 20 September 1683." (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, 507–8 ; *Shivaji*, 111, 123, 125, 130, 168, 184, 198, 317–19, 325–26 ; *Studies in Aurangzib's Reign*, 67–68 ; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 187, 189, 218, 305.)

[2] Wagingera was situated 12 miles north-east of Sagar in old Hyderabad State. (Sarkar, *Short History of Aurangzib*, 350.)

[3] Prince Muhammad Azam Shah, son of Aurangzeb, was born in 1653. Though courageous and brave, he was an arrogant and domineering fellow and possessed a violent temper. After the death of his father in 1707 he proclaimed himself emperor but perished along with his sons on 8 June 1707 in the war of succession which gave the crown to Muazzam entitled Bahadur Shah. His reign lasted for 3 months and ten days. (Sarkar, *Studies in Aurangzib's Reign*, 61–88 ; Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I, 4—5, 8, 11—17, 21—35.)

[4] Sadashiv Rao Bhau who commanded the Maratha army at the Third Battle of Panipat was the cousin of Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao. He had been trained to organise military expeditions from the very beginning and in March 1760 the arduous task of leading an expedition to Northern India was entrusted to him. He "possessed both a stern and valiant character" (G. S. Sardesai) and perished with 75 thousand Marathas on 14 January 1761 in the battle of Panipat which gave the victory to Ahmad Shah Abdali. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II, 235-267 ; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 259, 290-93, 300-302, 327, 330, 336-37, 375, 415-456; *Main Currents of Maratha History*, 143-6.)

[5] With its source in Amarkantak hill Narbada or Narmada is a famous river which forms the traditional boundary between Northern India and the Deccan. It has a westwards course of 800 miles and falls into the sea below Broach in Bombay. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, X, 207-10)

[6] The town of Berasia or Bersia is nearly 28 miles north of Bhupal and 27 miles north-west of Bhilsa in Madhya Pradesh.

(वोडसिया wrong spelling in Rajwade vol I. letter No. 202),-which is north-west of Bhilsa,[1] and not through Bhilsa as you say in your *Riyasat.* He met Malhar Holkar on 15 June (north of the Chambal[2]—not south) and Suraj Mal[3] near Agra on 28 or 29 June. The Bhau never went to Bharatpur.[4] So, the map in *Selection* ii is wrong. In Rajwade i. letter 188, मालना is most likely a copyist's error for मायना. But where is the original ?

Darjiling,
1st May, 1934.

In Europe, your work as editor of the Peshwas' Daftar records would have been promptly recognised by your own University and every University where Maratha history is taught conferring on you the honorary degree of D. Litt. In England Mr. Loeb, a mere rich man probably innocent of the classics, was created a Doctor by the Cambridge University because he had financed the issue of a new edition of the Greek and Latin classics with English translations on the opposite page. True scholars are there honoured even more surely and quickly. But here, half the Senate (and Board of History) are blissfully ignorant of the present state of research and names of research-workers in Maratha history, and the other half are consumed by jealousy of your achievements and would thwart every attempt to recognise your scholarship.

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[1] Bhilsa is a town 25 miles north-east of Bhupal on Western Railways in Madhya Pradesh. Situated on the right bank of the river Betwa on a rock, Bhilsa has a fort enclosed by a ditch. There is a gun of 10″ bore and 19½′ long in the fort which was prepared by Jahangir. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, II, 392-93.)

[2] The river Chambal is in Central India and it is one of the tributaries of the Jamuna. At a distance of 40 miles from its source, where the railway line crosses it, there is a station of the same name. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, III, 331.)

[3] Suraj Mal Jat was the adopted son of Badan Singh, the Raja of Bharatpur. After Badan Singh's death on 7 June 1756, he became the ruler of the Jat Kingdom. "He was of middle stature and of a robust frame, very black in complexion and very fat." A great statesman and diplomat, he carried the state to the zenith of its glory. He fell fighting against Najib on 25 December 1763. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II, 244, 248, 255-56, 354, 389, 433-56 ; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 376, 412, 419, 507 ; Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, I, 148, 198.)

[4] The town of Bharatpur is 35 miles west of Agra and 112 miles east of Jaipur. It is known for its *chauris*. The particular process of *chauri* making is known only to a small number of families there, and it is kept as a secret. There is also a strong fortress which was built by Bahadur Singh in 1793. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, II, 375-76.)

Darjiling,
9th May 1934, Night.

Received your post card yesterday. Shah Nawaz Khan[1] defeated Ambar[2] on Sunday 25 Bahman (= 4 Feb. 1616, and *not* 1614 as printed.) Patan is not traceable in the map; it cannot be Paithan, unless the Mughal general marched due south from Balapur,[3] to the Godavari[4] and then worked up the river north-westwards to Paithan, as his cavalry required abundant water supply. An earlier reference (in my translation) to 'the rich city of Patan' suggests Paithan. In a Persian ms. Patan, Man and Pain (Ganga) are written alike, the last two being the names of two rivers intervening between Balapur and Daulatabad.

* * *

I have secured from England a typed copy of Sir Charles Malet's report on the Maratha army, its number, organization, defects, methods of marching and camping and armament, written from the Maratha camp at Khardla 1795. It shows marvellous insight and accuracy. I send you herewith the portion giving the names and strength of the different officers. This was the fullest gathering of all the forces of Maharashtra (except Gaikwad, Ali Bahadur and the Bundele brothers)—much larger than in the Udgir[5] campaign. You can here see the names of the ancestors of the great families and their comparative position (from the number of their troops).

* * *

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[1] Shah Nawaz Khan was the son of Abdur Rahim Khan-e-Khanan, a renowned general and great noble of Jahangir's Court. He was a daring soldier like his father and also served as governor of the Deccan for some time. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 48, 50.)

[2] Malik Ambar was by origin an Abyssinian. He was made a slave when young and was brought to India by a merchant who sold him to a minister of the Sultan of Ahmadnagar. He possessed great power of application and by dint of ability and hard work he made himself the regent of the Nizam Shahi kingdom. He devoted all his energies to the betterment of the people and his sagacious statesmanship and sound administration revived the decaying Nizam Shahi dynasty. He resisted the Mughal imperialism for over fifteen years and died on 14 May 1626. (Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, 34-36 ; *Short History of Aurangzib*, 11 ; *History of Aurangzib*, I, 33 ; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 44, 45, 47-51, 55.)

[3] Balapur is situated 16 miles west of Akola and 6 miles south of Paras station in Berar. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, I, 458.)

[4] Godavari rises in the Western Ghats near the village of Trimbak in the Nasik District of Bombay. It runs across the Deccan from the Western to the Eastern Ghats. It is a holy river like the Ganga. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, V, 131.)

[5] Udgir is 24 miles north of Bhalki. (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, 45.)

Sonāchal[1] cannot be Songir[2] in the Baroda State, where Shivaji confined his English prisoners, Rivington & others.......

Shri Mushnam, a village in Chidambaram taluq, South Arcot district (Madras), 19 miles west of Kadalur. It contains one of the eight most famous Vishnu temples of the South.

Vriddha-giri = Vriddhachal; in the South Arcot district, famous for its temple.

It may also stand for Vriddhakal, *i.e.*, a Vishnu temple (Barāha avatār) at Mahavalipuram or the famous Seven Pagodas.

Rukma-Sabhādhipa is probably a name for Vishnu (Krishna), the husband of Rukma's sister Rukmini.

Darjiling,
19 May, 1934.

Since writing to you last, I have out of curiosity taken away a couple of days from my Panipat work and studied the Persian sources on Malik Ambar in detail. The result is that I have ascertained that Shah Nawaz Khan defeated Ambar on 4 Feb. 1616 at Roshangaon, 10 miles west of Jalna,[3] the latter city being the Mughal headquarters. Roshangaon has a *garhi* and seems to have been known as Roshangarh, which has been misspelt by the Persian copyist as Rosalgar. The Dudhna,[4] a feeder of the Godavari almost encircles it. The Persian name for the Godavari is "the river of Patan," i.e., the river on the bank of which Paithan stands. Paithan was in Muslim occupation (sometimes under the Delhi officers) in Ambar's time.

I find that one Gangadhar was shot during the Bhau's siege of Delhi fort, on 27 July 1760. He was not Tatya G. Chandrachud, nor Gangadhar Govind (the son of Bundele.) Who was he ? I also once thought that Kanak-giri[5] (in Mysore) was the सोणाचल mentioned in the Kosha, but did not accept the identification because Shivaji never visited the place, nor were its temples known to have been molested by the Muslims ; but neither of the above objections is really strong.

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[1] Sonachal : Vide Sardesai to Sarkar, 15. 5. 1934.

[2] Songiri or Songarh : Vide Sardesai to Sarkar, 15. 5. 34.

[3] Jalna is 38 miles east of Aurangabad in the Bombay State on the bank of the stream Kundalika. It is said that Sita, wife of Rama, resided at Jalna and it was then called Janakpuri. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, VII, 106.)

[4] Dudhna or Dudna is a tributary of the river Godavari having its source in the Aurangabad District of Bombay State.

[5] Kanakgiri is 25 miles north-east of Kopbal in Raichur Doab. (Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 313 ; *History of Aurangzib*, IV, 156.)

Darjiling,
26 May, 1934.

Who was "Sasadhar Pandit[1] the Maratha Vakil", (misspelt Sendur in Rawlinson's Panipat), who helped Shujauddaulah[2] in identifying the Bhau's body ?

What was the name of the son of Pilaji Jadhav[3] who fell at Panipat ? It was not Satvoji who lived long after the battle.

I have just translated Kashi Rao's Panipat *Bakhar* from the Persian and am surprised at the large omissions and gross mistakes made by Col. Brown in his translation. Many deeply interesting details now come out, and I can see the whole affair as if passing before my eyes. I find the Bhau's character and capacity have been misrepresented ; he was certainly not a general, but no insolent braggart and his heroic death is fully described in the Persian text of Kashi Rao.

Darjiling,
19th June, 1934.

The Panipat campaign has been entirely reconstructed by me, and written in full detail for my second volume. I am now revising and retouching these two chapters ("The Bhau in the north" and the "Battle of P"), after an immense amount of labour and racking of the brain. But at last I see light in the midst of darkness, and these chapters will be sent to the Press in a week from now.......

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[1] Sasadhar Pandit refers to Sadashiv Ballal Phadke, brother of Haripant. (G. S. S. to J. N. S., 30.5.34.)

[2] Shuja-ud-daulah was the son ot Safdar Jang, the Nawab of Oudh, born in 1731 and succeeded him in 1753. "He had acquired an extensive knowledge in the practice of every species of deceit and could perform with facility every character that was necessary to conduct the various purposes of delusion or treachery. His excesses in venery, which knew no control, led him to commit actions derogatory from his station, as well as pernicious to his health." (Sarkar) He died on 27 January 1775. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II, 530-32 ; Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, 389 ; Srivastava, *Shuja-ud-daulah*, 2 vols.)

[3] Pilaji Jadhav was the chief of Wagholi and took active part in the expansion of the Maratha power. His integrity, intelligence and tact combined with his belief in conciliation made him an expert in the art of conducting negotiations and holding peace parleys. He rendered diplomatic service to the Maratha State for over thirty years serving creditably in many a delicate situation. He died an invalid about 1752. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 69, 145, 146, 170, 216, 248.)

* * *

The Maratha wakil in Shuja's camp at Panipat was either Shashadhar or Damodar Pandit (i.e. D. M. Hingane[1]) and not Sadashiv Pandit as you suggest. Where was Damodar H. then ? Pila Jadav's son was most probably Appaji Jadav and not Sambhaji J. as you suggest.

August, 34.

In your *Riyasat* (Shivaji volume) 2nd ed., please do not forget to add (as given in my Marathi Shivaji) :—

Some ten years before this Afzal Khan[2] had been sent by the Sultan of Bijapur to attack Kasturi-ranga, the Rajah of Sera. After a siege of that fort, Kasturi-Ranga[3] came humbly to Afzal's camp to offer his submission, but Afzal put this unarmed suppliant for mercy to death on the pretext that he had behaved rudely during their interview. This is stated on the authority of Zahur bin Zahuri, the official historian of Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah. The letter of the English factor at Rajapur[4] (dated......Dec. 1659......quote from Sarkar's footnote.........) proves that Afzal Khan was instructed by Queen-mother Bari Sahiba[5] to play the same trick against Shivaji.

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[1] Damodar, M. Hingane was the Peshwa's agent at Delhi. He was appointed as the tax-collector at Gaya and Kurukshetra when the Emperor abolished the taxes on the pilgrims visiting these places on 25 October 1754. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II, 2, f.n.)

[2] Abdullah Bhatari, entitled Afzal Khan, was the Bijapuri general. He distinguished himself in numerous campaigns and also served as governor of Wai and Kanakgiri. Though bold and energetic, he often resorted to treachery. Particularly his murder of Kasturi-Ranga had made him very infamous. He lost his life on 10 November 1659 at the hands of Shivaji who attacked him in self-defence during a private meeting arranged by the Khan. (Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 58-74 ; *History of Aurangzib*, IV, 44 ; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 72, 76, 112, 123-30.)

[3] For details, vide Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 63.

[4] Rajapur is 30 miles south of Ratnagiri and it is the chief town of the sub-division of the same name. In 1660-61 Shivaji plundered the town and sacked the English factory. (Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 222, 333 ; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XI, 384-85.)

[5] Bari Sahiba was the queen of Muhammad Adil Shah, the king of Bijapur. After his death on 4 November 1656, the administration was conducted by the Dowager Queen in the name of her young son, Ali Adil Shah. She "virtually ruled the state till her pious journey to Mecca (1660)." She "was a woman of masterful spirit and experienced in the conduct of business." (Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 58 ; *Short History of Aurangzib*, 38, 187 ; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 123, 149.)

Therefore Shivaji's attack was purely defensive, acc. to the non-Maratha sources.

August, 1934.

Netaji Palkar[1]

On Shivaji's flight from Agra (1666) Emperor wrote to Jai Singh to arrest and send Netaji from his camp in the Deccan to Agra, as a precaution.

Neta reaches the Court, is kept in prison, agrees to embrace Islam (Feb. 1667), is circumcised, named Muhammad Quli Kh & created 3-hazari (March)—is sent to serve in Kabul. Nothing more is recorded of him till his return to Shivaji's Court at the end of 1676 (see Jedhe for प्राश्चित).

Daud Kh Qureshi[2] was an Arab and ultimately settled in Bihar, while Daud Kh. Pani[3] was an Afghan (some 30 years younger than Qureshi.) This Pani became Nawab of Kurnool[4] in the Deccan, where his family still continues. His brother's grandson murdered Nasir Jang[1] in 1750 (Dec.).

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[1] Netaji Palkar was the Master of the Horse in Shivaji's army. He fell out with Shivaji and joined the Bijapuris in January 1666. Soon after the astute Mirza Raja Jai Singh, the Mughal general, lured him to transfer his allegiance to the Mughals and secured for him the *mansab* of a Commander of 5,000, a *jagir* and Rs. 50,000 in cash. In 1667 Aurangzeb converted him to Islam, gave him the name of Muhammad Quli and sent him to Afghanistan where he served till 1676 when he returned to Maharashtra. He was a gallant soldier "whom the Deccanis regarded as a second Shivaji." He died during the reign of Shivaji's son Shambhuji. (Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 57, 65, 68, 87-88, 117, 128, 131, 157, 285; *History of Aurangzib*, IV, 468-69; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 118, 130, 131, 138, 162, 181-82, 218-19, 296.)

[2] Daud Khan Qureshi was one of the ablest Mughal generals. He also served as the governor of Bihar for some time. The Emperor Aurangzeb had a very good opinion of his gallantry and military efficiency as a general. (Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 115-17, 166-67, 176-77, 179, 182-83; *Short History of Aurangzib*, 78, 90, 100, 198, 211; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 192-95.)

[3] Daud Khan Pani acted as Zulfiqar Khan's deputy in the Deccan from 1708 to 1713 when he was appointed to the government of Gujrat. After two years he was transferred to Burhanpur and died in a fight with Husain Ali Khan, the Mir Bakhshi, on 6 September 1715. (Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I, 238, 302-303; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 32, 33, 36.)

[4] Karnul is an important town in the Andhra State and it is 54 miles south-east of Raichur, situated at the junction of the Tungabhadra and the Hindri. There are the remains of a fort which was built by Gopal Raya and the mausoleum of the first Nawab of Karnul, Abdul Wahab. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, VIII, 45.)

Netaji's uncle Gondaji (or Kondaji) is converted to Islam (Dec. 1667).

Kopal[2] and the Mianas[3] in Shivaji's time (not inserted in *Shivaji*, 3rd. ed. by J. Sarkar).

A Persian ms. (British Museum Or. 1641) says—

The fort of Kopal was in the *jagir* of Abdur Rahim[4] Kh. Miana, a Bijapuri noble who left there as his agent, Husain Miana.[5] In a battle[6] with Shiva (on the march to the Eastern Karnatak) Husain and his brother[7] were captured. Shivaji pressed Husain to give up the fort of Kopal. Husain sent his brother there with a Maratha force but Husain's son refused to deliver the fort. So the Maratha slew his brother then and there. After this Husain came there & caused that fort to be surrendered to the Marathas. He now entered Mughal service and was given the title of Fath Jang Kh.

Darjiling,
22-8-34.

I enclose my tour programme.......

* * *

Oct. 13, Arrival, Agra, 1.20 p.m. or 6 p.m.
14-16 At Agra.
16 Leave Agra, 6 p.m.

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[1] Nasir Jang was the son of Nizam-ul-mulk. A capable and ambitious young man he rebelled against his father in 1740. He was defeated and captured, but was again restored to favour. He succeeded his father in May 1748 but was assassinated by his Pathan allies in December 1750. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 180, 195-198, 319-20 ; Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, I, 15, 205.)

[2] Koppal or Kopbal is situated 56 miles west of Bellary in the Raichur District of the old Hyderabad State. "The fort of Koppal commanded the Bijapur possessions between Krishna and the Tungabhadra rivers." For its strategic importance it has been called the "gate of south". (Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 313, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXVI, Plate 42.)

[3] "Miana is the name of one of the clans of Afghanistan." (Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 60.)

[4] Abdur Rahim was the son of Bahlol Khan and died in July 1665. His son, Abdul Karim, was the wazir of Bijapur from 11 November 1675 to his death on 23 December 1677. (Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, 61.)

[5] Husain Miana acted as the agent of Abdur Rahim's *Jagir*, Kopbal. He entered the Mughal service in 1683, and was created a commander of 5,000. He died at Raigarh. (Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, 62-63.)

[6] The battle was fought near *Yelburga* in January 1677. (Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, 62.)

[7] The name of his brother was Qasim Khan. (Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, 62.)

17 Reach Ajmir, 9 a.m.
Leave Ajmir, 11 p.m.
18 Reach Udaipur, 10-50 a.m.
18-20 At Udaipur
21 Reach Chitor,[1] visit Fort. Leave Chitor 3.3 p.m. and reach Fatihabad[2] (Ujjain) at midnight.
22 Visit Ujjain.[3]
23 Visit battlefield of *Dharmat*[4] (at *Fatihabad*), leave Fatihabad at noon, reach Khandwa[5] Jn. at.8.25 p.m.
24 Reach Bombay at 9 a.m.
24-25 At Bombay
26 Reach Kamshet[6] at 11 a.m.
Nov. 1 Leave Kamshet for Poona, reach Satara at night.
2 & 3 At Satara (lectures)
4 Return to Poona and Kamshet.

Nov. 1934.

Poona Residency Records.

Plan for securing uniformity in editing.

1. Divide each volume into sections according to sub-topics or persons.

2. All the documents in a volume should bear consecutive numbers, which would be printed in bold type before each letter. Don't have seperate numbering for the sections.

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[1] Chitor is a town in Rajasthan, associated with the name of the celebrated Maharana Pratap and also known for its famous fortress of Chitorgarh. Situated on the sloping solid rock of the western side of the hill, the town is rectangular in shape. The ancient fortress was the capital of Mewar from 728 A. D. when Bapa Rawal seized it from the ruling chief till 1568 when it was finally captured by Akbar. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, III, 430.)

[2] Fatihabad or Fatehabad is known for the battle-field of Dharmat where one of the battles of the War of Succession was fought in 1658. It is situated 14 miles south-west of Ujjain. (Sarkar, *Short History of Aurangzib*, 55.)

[3] Ujjain is a sacred and historic town in Madhya Pradesh. In ancient times it was the capital of Malwa, the seat of one of the viceroyalties of Asoka and the capital of Vikramaditya. Besides the other places the remains of the Vikramaditya fort and the old observatory are also the worth-seeing places there. The remains of the old city are nearly one mile north of the modern Ujjain. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XIII, 417.)

[4] Dharmat : See Fatehabad.

[5] The town of Khandwa is 40 miles north of Burhanpur and it is the head-quarter of the Nimar District of Madhya Pradesh. Standing on a mound the town has been a great seat of Jain worship. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, VIII, 159-60.)

[6] Kamshet is situated on the bank of Indrayani river, 29 miles north-west of Poona in Bombay State. (Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, 257.)

3. Each letter should be headed thus :

(1st) Serial number

(2nd line) From.........to.........

(3rd line, on the right hand side of the page) and in italics place and date of writing.

An example from my volume :—

David Anderson to Warren Hastings, G. G.
Camp before Gwalior, 8 May, 1783.

4. Omit all unimportant paragraphs, long addresses, and formal signatures, so as to confine the extracts to really valuable historical information.

5. The editor's introduction should state the nature of the original information now presented, give a descriptive narrative of the epoch or incident covered by the volume, and a short life (as of Malet or of Mahadji Sindhia).

Then will come

(i) a chronological table of the chief dates embraced by the period of the volume.

(ii) a summary of the contents of the volume, arranged according to years, exactly as in the introduction to the *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, quoting the serial number of the letter in the volume after each entry.

6. Strike out the copious and unnecessary use of capital letters in the typescript, and reduce them to small letters as befitting the 20th century English style.

7. Modernise the spellings of the names of persons and places (——places according to the Hunterian system as adopted in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*), wherever the old spelling is likely to mislead or puzzle the reader. But leave the old spelling untouched, where the name can be easily understood in its archaic form.

8. Short footnotes explanatory of persons and places may be given ; or the whole information collected in one alphabetical appendix.

Other suggestions already left at the A. O.

36/8 Sahitya Parishat Str,
Beadon Str P. O.,
Calcutta,
18 Dec. 1934.

My search has yielded the most astonishing results. Malet sent his *Account of the Maratha Empire* to the G. G. in three parts, the last ending with the death of Shambhuji. He was puzzled why a Hindu dynasty should use the Hijera era (evidently the *Shahur San* which he could not distinguish from the Hijera.) He was unable to find the dates of certain early events and this imposed a delay upon his despatch of the *Account*. But when he approached Nana Fadni's[1] Secretary for clearing his doubts, Nana's suspicion was roused ! ! !

Malet reached Poona on 6 (or 16) Feb. 1786 and not in 1785.

Malet also heard of the boy Baji Rao II's[2] disease. What marvellous intelligence service he had !

36/8, Sahitya Parishad Str,
Calcutta,
24th Feb. 1935.

I have found Malet to be too prolix a writer and I had necessarily to cut out all his long reflections, conjectures as to the future, and general remarks, besides matters now well-known (*e.g.*, the intrigues and factions at the Poona Court.) Hence, as stirring events grow few and far between, his despatchas (esp. in 1792-93) lose their importance as to facts, and I have ordered only a small proportion of his writings for such years to be copied. The centre of gravity of Maratha politics had by now shifted from Poona to Sindhia's camp in the North, and I have already got every piece of important English record relating to Sindhia copied for me.

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[1] Nana Fadnis, a Brahman by caste, was the head accountant of the Peshwa's office. After 1775 he became the foremost man in the Maratha State and wielded supreme power for over twenty years. He was an indefatigable worker, patriot and strong opponent of the Britishers. He organised an All India Confederacy against the English and this was his greatest achievement in the diplomatic field. ' Nana doubtless shines out as the last genius produced by Maratha nation." He died on 13 March 1800 at the age of 58. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 244, 454 ; III, 20, 33, 40, 65-66, 71, 84, 86, 122, 173, 333-36, 357-60 ; *Main Currents of Maratha History*, 133, 152, 159-61, 164, 165-69, 170-71, 173, 174-75, 181, 182, 183, 190, 191, 206 ; Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, IV, 6, 123-29, 140, 141.)

[2] Baji Rao II, the last Peshwa, was the son of Raghoba. Born at Dhar on 10 January 1775 he became the Peshwa in December 1796. A man of sensuous nature, he was weak and incompetent and tried to hide his private life, full of shame and wickedness, with devotion to religious practices. Thus he was little liked by the people and fled to Bassein in 1802 when Jaswant Rao Holkar defeated him in an encounter. To regain the lost position he accepted armed help from the British and this blind selfishness sounded the death-knell of Maratha Independence. The English saw their opportunity and forced him to sign in June 1817 another treaty which finally extinguished his waning power. To emancipate himself from British control he began intrigues and made an appeal to arms. The desperate efforts, however, were doomed to failure and he was banished to Bithur where he died in January 1851 at the age of 76. It was his adopted son, Nana Sahib, who took a leading part in the Mutiny of 1857. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, IV, 134-37, 194, 203 ; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, III, 63, 313, 316, 322-24, 327-28, 331, 333-337, 371-74, 379 ; *Main Currents of Maratha History*, 191, 192, 194, 206, 225.)

* * *

Hindu superstitions and manners :—

(1) Forbes—*Oriental Memoirs*

(2) Dubois—*Memoirs of the Hindus*, tr. by Beauchamp, new ed. by Ox. Univ. Press

(3) Ward—*Religion of the Hindoos*,—rather a missionary attack.

(4) Heber—*Journal and Letters*, very sober, though touching the fringe of the subject only.

(5) Tone—*Manners of the Marathas* &c. (You received from me only one instalment of it, in the *Asiatic Annual Register*; the rest is in Darjiling.)

Darjiling,
8th April, 1935.

For three weeks I have worked hard at Mahadji Sindhia—Marathi, Persian and French sources, and find a vast wealth of material ; the whole epoch is now clear to me in the minutest detail, as in the case of the Panipat campaign. I mean North Indian affairs, and not the Peshwa's Court—which latter I have left to you,—from 1761 to 1794.

* * *

In Calcutta I went through Malet's report on the trade of the Maratha empire with Bombay. It is of very little value ; it does not touch the foreign or oversea trade of the Marathas—for they had none at this time, and bought foreign articles through the English importers !

Malet in India had no father-in-law except some Musalman Khansamas ! He married only after retirement to England. I enclose his most authentic life for inclusion in your introduction. Don't omit any of his letters of resignation ; they are masterpieces of English prose.

Darjiling,
27th June, 1935.

I doubt very much whether any prince will patronise this series. You see, they have no money left after engaging गोपा करीएs and buying small girls to be their concubines, like the three Gujerati (or Kathiawadi) young men who escaped from a Maharajah's harem in Bombay only 10 days ago.

Darjiling,
14 July, 1935.

Keelat and Pharman should be spelt *Khilat* and *farman* with small initial letters, the other words of your list may begin with capitals. Malet's *Kulloon* or *Kodha*=*Kaliyan* or *qadah*, a small bowl for the *hukka*.

[Date and place not given]

Sketch

Shivaji—the historical background. The great empires of South all gone by 1640—Yadavas, Vijayanagar, Bahmani, and even Bijapur (which was really more like an empire than a single kingdom.) Ruin of the Hindus of the Karnatak (see J. Sarkar's articles in the Mod. Rev. 1931 or so). Social & political effects of this fragmentation: culture, peace & economic prosperity gone.

The future dark for the Maratha race & the Hindus in general. The Mughal Empire did not mean the same beneficial conquest for the South (owing to distance and the greed of the local agents of Delhi) as for the North, where it was truly a blessing. Would the Hindus, in this chaotic world, sink into savage hillmen and unlettered peasants all ? The moral poison had already destroyed Ahmadnagar (Nizam Shahi[1]) and was visibly killing the Adil Shahi[2] & Qutb Shahi.[3]

Shivaji appeared as a saviour on this scene. If his work was not completed it was solely due to his short life & the fact that like Robinson Crusoe on the lonely island he had to make everything with his own hands —he had to create a state and an army organisation from the very foundations. Herein lies his greatness.

"The last constructive genius of the Hindu race."

(J. Sarkar).

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[1] The kingdom and the city of *Ahmadnagar* were founded in 1494 A. D. by Ahmad Nizam Shah, an officer of the Bahmani kingdom. It was conquered by Shah Jahan in 1636.

[2] The Adil Shahi dynasty was founded by Yusaf Adil Khan, the governor of Bijapur, who declared his independence on the break-up of the Bahmani kingdom. The kingdom of Bijapur was annexed to the Mughal Empire in 1686.

[3] The kingdom of Golkonda was founded by Quli Qutub Shah, a Turki officer of the Bahmani kingdom. Golkonda was annexed by Aurangzeb in 1687.

Describe &—Critically study Shivaji's civil organisation—what he received from the ancient Hindu past, what he took over from the village communities of the Deccan-Mahazar, patel, balutras, etc. How he adjusted it to his needs.

His army organisation. Not a horde of light plunderers, not at all parallel to the Pindharis of 1817-but more complex, better organised and infinitely stronger (illustrate by a study of the battle of Vani-Dindori in 1670, from Sarkar's *Shivaji*). His spy system—always got full intelligence of a place before going there on an expedition.

The perfection of an army consists in (1) its suitability to the terrain (country, landscape &c) (2) its relative superiority to its opponents, and (3) its exact conformity to the temper & character of its people *e.g.*, the English & French national characters are diametrically opposite, so also was Napoleon's method of fighting versus Wellingtons; see Peninsular War in *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. IX, also the tactics at Waterloo). Sh. a supreme military genius, judged by this test.

His religious toleration a wonder in that age. Indian nationality possible and enduring only when there are equal rights for all & a fair field & no favour, or as the Fr. Revolution of 1789 declared "career open to talent" only.

This is the supreme ideal of a modern State—Shiva realised it 250 years ago.

Use fully & thoughtfully the last 3 chapters of Sarkar's *Shivaji*, 3rd ed.

Darjiling,
10th Aug. 1935.

Please move the Bombay Govt. at once to beg from the Secretary of State for India one (or two) copies of their catalogue of Marathi mss. in the India Office, London, which was reported a year ago as about to be published, and when you get a copy study it carefully to find out if it can supply the papers missing from the Peshwas' Daftar.

I cannot approve of Diskalkar picking out papers on the Relations (with, or news of) frontier states, as the subject is quite unimportant from the Poona angle of view and also in conflict with my general editorial plan for the series. Let him take the Nizam papers and make a volume of 500 pages out of them. No knowledge of Persian is necessary.......

* * *

The Nagpur Residency Records form a virgin field, except for the published selections from Jenkins's[1] Reports (which are later in point of time), and I am anxious to see this subject forming our 3rd (at least 4th) volume ....

Darjiling,
18 Oct 1935.

I have secured from Paris the ms. journal of an officer of Bussy[2] describing the campaign of Salabat Jang[3] against Nana Sahib Peshwa and the march on Puna (Nov. 1751-Mar, 1752) especially the night attack on the Maratha camp during an eclipse !

There is no connection between the records of the Peshwa-Nizam relations (culminating in the battle of Kharda) and the disbanding of Raymond's[4] corps at Haiderabad in 1799. On the latter subject add Raymond's letters and my introductory notes as given in my article on Raymond published in *Islamic Culture* (Haiderabad) in 1933.

The "country newspapers" are *akhbarat* written with the hand in Persian and sent from important cities (like Delhi, Fathgarh,[5] Lahore,

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[1] Jenkins, Sir Richard, was born on 18 February 1785. He joined the East India Company's service in 1800 and acted as the Assistant Resident and Acting Resident at Sindhia's court from 1804 to 1805. He was the Resident at Poona from 1807-1827 and became the Chairman of the East India Company's Directors in 1839. He died on 30 December 1853. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, III, 361, 430 ; Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography* 222.)

[2] Bussy, a French General, served under Salabat Jang, son of Nizam-ul-mulk. He was very resourceful and skilful and it was he who had made Salabat Jang the Nizam of Hyderbad in 1751. He was defeated by the British at the battle of Wandewash in 1760 and was sent to Europe. He again came to India in 1783 and died in January 1785. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 308, 320, 322, 324-28, 332-33, 336; Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, 64.)

[3] Salabat Jang, the third son of Asaf Jah, proclaimed himself the Nawab of Hyderabad on the death of his sister's son, Muzaffar Jang, on 3 January 1751. He was a weak ruler and the real power was wielded by his ministers. He was put to death by his overpowering brother, Nizam Ali, on 16 September 1763. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 195, 320-21, 323-25, 326-29, 332, 333-37 ; Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, I, 206.)

[4] Raymond, Francois, was the French General of Nizam Ali of Hyderabad. Born on 20 September 1755 he came to India in 1775 and took up service under Hyder Ali. He entered Nizam Ali's service in 1785 and was entrusted with the charge of reorganising the army on European model. He performed this task creditably and served his master with loyalty and zeal. He died on 25 March 1798. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, III, 353, 353 f.n.)

[5] The town of Fatehgarh is situated on the right side of the Ganga, 3 miles east of Farrukhabad. It was a cantonment and played a great part in the Mutiny of 1857. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, IV, 420.)

Jaipur, &c.) to Calcutta or to the British agents at important centres. They were neither printed nor written for the public. (See "Waqianavis" in my *Mughal Administration*, 2nd ed.)

9, Badur Bagan Row,
Amh. Str. P.O.,
Calcutta,
11th Nov. 1935.

Gode's paper is a first rate contribution to Maratha history. The pity of it is that so few sheets of the two works have survived. There is no doubt that he is right in holding that है हयेन्द्र चरित is really an eulogistic life of Shambhuji. I have found the Tapidas and Satidas as historical personages living in Surat in Aurangzib's reign (Vide the Persian *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, vol. I. of the Gaekwad Oriental Series.[)] But my view is that one of these, a rich banker and Mughal official (and not राजा except in a complimentary sense) offered Champa (a dancing girl but virgin, or the illegitimate daughter of some Rajput noble by a concubine) to Shambhuji and this averted a मुलकगिरि on Surat. It would be sweet to imagine that this Champa's son was that Madan Singh[1] who shared Shahu's[2] captivity in Aurangzib's camp. The concubine born offspring of Rajput nobles, now called रावण राजपुतs number over a lakh and a half. Champa was probably a गोत्रे. करीण like the सौभाग्यवती पश्रवार of his late Highness of Dewas Junior[3] ! ! !

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[1] Madan Singh was the illegitimate son of Shambhuji. The Mughal General Zulfiqar Khan had captured the fort of Raigarh in 1689 and seized in it Shambhuji's and Rajaram's wives, daughters, sons and other loyal followers including Madan Singh. They were sent to Aurangzeb who placed them in captivity. They obtained their release after the death of Aurangzeb. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 322, 349.)

[2] Shahu, Shambhuji's son, was born on 18 May 1682 and was captured along with others by the Mughal General, Zulfiqar Khan, in the fort of Raigarh in 1689. He was released after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 and his coronation ceremony took place on 12 January 1708. Though amiable, generous, benign and god-fearing, he lacked the capacity for action and loved conciliation. As a matter of fact, his long captivity had denied him any opportunity for acquiring knowledge and experience in civil or military administration. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 349, 350, 351, 354, 356-57 ; II, 11-17, 39, 41, 73, 78, 112, 117, 124, 129, 168, 174, 177, 184, 214, 219, 263-67, 273-283 ; *Main Currents of Maratha History*, 100-103 109, 116-17, 119, 121-22, 123-24, 126-27 ; Sarkar, *Short History of Aurangzib*, 276, 296, 338-39 ; *History of Aurangzib*, IV, 277 ; V, 203.)

[3] Dewas Junior is a state to the west of Narsinghgarh in Madhya Pradesh. The chief of the state was originally from the true Rajput blood but later on the inter-marriages with the Marathas impaired the purity of the descendants. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, IV, 236.)

9, Badur Bagan Row,
Calcutta,
3 Dec. 1935.

Malcolm's *P. History* and Kaye's *Life of M* 2 vols. are in my Darjiling library. The first is now useless,—like his *Central India*, almost entirely out of date. What would be most useful to you for the last Maratha War is Prinsep's *Transaction in India during the Govt. of Marquis of Hastings*, 2nd ed. 2 vols, which also I possess. Kaye's *Life of Malcolm*, 2 vols. ... is useful only for the 1817—18 war and is not of much use for 1803—4.

Calcutta,
26 Dec. 1935.

On the 19th while taking my evening walk, I slipped on a banana peel and broke my right knee cap. It has been put in splinters and I have been confined to bed for one month, though I can read and write in a reclining posture. There is no fever and the case is causing no anxiety. (1) I do not want to add a table of contents to my volume. For goodness sake let it finally come out of the press (2) To the subsequent volumes I shall add a separate preface as General Editor.

9, Badur Bagan Row,
Calcutta,
30 Dec. 1935.

I shall be glad to write the life of Ramchandra provided that the length of the book is not extended beyond the importance of the subject and (this is most important) the exact quantity of the authentic records secured. But in this Amatya must trust me. Many years ago a European critic called me "a master of the miniature" style of history writing- *i.e.*, of the art of putting many things into a small readable compass, where nothing of use is omitted.

Secondly, if I am to do the work, the Amatya must soon send me his Persian papers, carefully packed in cardboard, by regd & insured post, for me to study them here as I have plenty of leisure now. I cannot possibly go to Bavda to study or copy them. No remuneration is expected or will be accepted by me; but supposing that my *Life of R.* goes into more editions after the first, a royalty may be paid to me for each edition from the second onwards.

Calcutta,
2 Jan., 1936.

Dear old Joshi is dead! As I opened the *Mandal Quarterly* his face looked at me from the photo with its eternal smile. What a good honest simple and loving soul is gone!

* * *

On the question mooted by you (Ramch[1] vs Balaji Vis[2]), our trouble is that after Aur's death his successors removed to the north, where they became involved in Rajput and Sikh revolts and succession wars, so that Deccan was totally neglected & the Persian records are almost silent about the Marathas till 1724 when the Nizam became independent. But the *Akhbarat* after 1707 require study.

Darjiling,
19th May, 1936.

Most of your queries have been answered on pages 5-6 of my ms. *e.g.*,

* * *

(6) During 1803 the Peshwa was a non-entity, and the petty intrigues, rumours and vain sighs of his courtiers during this momentous war, will not go into my volume, as they did not affect the issue of the war in the least. You will include a very small selection of them in your 1803-1816 volume (or volumes.)

* * *

(8) Metcalfe was Resident at the Sindhia's court for eight months only (June 1810-Feb 1811), and his biographer Kaye says that records of this period of his service "are remarkably scanty" among the Metcalfe papers preserved in England (vol. i. p. 321.) Therefore, these must be transcribed in full if they are available at Poona.......

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[1] Ram Chandra Nilkanth Amatya was once the Revenue Minister in Shivaji's government. He went out of favour with Shambhuji but was again restored by Rajaram who described his services thus: "This Maratha kingdom is a gift from Heaven. Ramchandra Pant saved it in its dreadful crisis by carefully picking up the merits and capacities of men, inspired them with a spirit of service and devotion and employed them in appropriate spheres." He probably retired or died after 1715. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 215, 322-323, 330, 334, 343, 348; II, 18, 22-23; *Main Currents of Maratha History*, 92.)

[2] Balaji Vishwanath, a Brahman by caste, probably started his career under Shivaji. He served the state with loyalty and devotion and in appreciation of his services Raja Shahu, the Maratha King, appointed him the Peshwa on 17 November 1713. He was a great statesman and excellent administrator. He died on 2 April 1720. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 353-54, 355; II, 17-20, 24-26, 41-43, 59-62; *Main Currents of Maratha History*, 102-3, 105, 106, 107, 112-13, 125.)

Darjiling,
22nd June, 1936.

Enclosed is my report on "*Malwa in Transition*"[1] and a letter to prof. Roberts[2] If you agree with my estimate of the thesis, please sign the report at No 2 and enclosing it (with my covering letter to Roberts) in the stamped envelope, paste the flap down with glue and post it. You may add anything you like on page 3 of the report (which I have left blank for the purpose.) This candidate's work gives me much hope of his future, as a worthy recruit to our campaign of sound historical research. He has solved the questions of (a) the date of the death of Daya Bahadur[3] and (b) Nandlal's[4] alleged part in bringing the Marathas to Malwa. One date in a volume of the *SPD* which had baffled me has been corrected by this young man with convincing reasons, and he has explained (to me) that Chhatra Sal[5] of the printed page is really Chhatra Singh[6] of Narwar[7] and not the great Bundela.

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[1] This was the subject of the thesis submitted by Maharaj Kumar Dr. Raghuvir Sinh of Sitamau for the Degree of D. Litt. in the Agra University.

[2] P. E. Roberts was one of his examiners for this Degree.

[3] Daya Bahadur was the son of Chabela Ram and cousin of Girdhar Bahadur who was the Mughal Subehdar of Malwa from 1722 to 1723 and again from 1725 to 1728. Daya Bahadur and Girdhar Bahadur both died fighting the Marathas under Chimnaji, Peshwa's brother, on 29 November 1728. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, I, 136, 136 f.n.; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 66, 83, 101-4; Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, 243-48; Raghuvir Sinh, *Malwa in Transition*, 153, 157, 163, 164, 199-207.)

[4] Nandlal was the Mughal Qanungo of the District of Kampel near Indore. (Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, 244-45, 247-49; Raghuvir Sinh, *Malwa in Transition*, 109, 156, 163 f.n., 167, 173, 191, 193, 197, 213, 281.)

[5] Born in 1650 Chhatra Sal was the fourth son of Champat Rai Bundela, the chieftain of Mahewa, in eastern Bundelkhand. He first obtained service under Jai Singh, the Mughal General, and was created a *mansabdar* for his gallantry and military efficiency. Disgusted at the poor reward he obtained for his services, he left the imperial service. A bold and liberty-loving man, he infused the people with patriotic spirit and began to attack the Mughal territory. He was an ardent and ambitious man and by sheer dint of his ability and capacity for leadership carved out an independent principality for himself in Eastern Malwa. He died in 1731 at the age of 81. (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, III, 30; V, 390—99; *Short History of Aurangzib*, 405-407; *Shivaji*, 180-81; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 104-108.)

[6] *Chhatra Singh* Vide Raghuvir Sinh, *Malwa in Transition*, 250 f. n.

[7] *Narwar or Nerwar* is a town 44 miles south of Kotah in Madhya Pradesh. Founded by a Kachhwaha Raja in 295 A. D., the town now in decadence was once very splendid. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, X, 227.)

Darjiling,
4th July, 1936.

2. The only information about Krishna Savat's[1] raid into Malwa as well as all the Maratha incursions into that province before the death of Aurangzib is available from the Persian sources indicated in my *Aurangzib* vol 5.

* * *

8. On the question of the Peshwas' attitude to the rise of the Nagpur Bhonsles as an independent and powerful dynasty—threatening to act as a counterpoise to the dynasty of the Peshwa in the Chhatrapati's Court—I find the weight of evidence is conclusively in favour of my view. What happened in 1718-19 at Delhi is irrelevant, because all of them, even Shahu himself, were beggars at the time and it was only the Emperor's recognition that gave stability and prestige to this branch of the Chhatrapati. The partition of the respective spheres of the P. & the B.[2] made by Shahu is a proof that they were unfriendly rivals even before the regime of Balji Baji Rao. Before 1767 the Bhonsle was more often with the Nizam than with the Peshwa in the Maratha—Nizam wars; it is a simple mathematical calculation.

Darjiling,
9th July, 1936.

My translation of the journal of Bussy's officer has been made from the unpublished French originals, preserved in a ms. at Paris.

Darjiling,
18 July, 1936.

The Agra University has taken over the affiliating side of the old Allahabad University, which latter has now become purely unitary or local institution. The standards of the Agra University are the same as those of the old Allahabad University. Under the latter, I examined Dr. Ishwari Prasad for the D. Litt. and so I know their standard.

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[1] Krishna Savat, the Maratha General, raided Malwa in November 1699. "He plundered and returned to his home unmolested" (Bhimsen quoted by Sarkar). There is no reference about him in the Persian or Marathi sources "except that Bakht Buland, the Rajah of Deogarh captured him in April 1699 (*Akhbarat*)." (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, V, 382, 382 f. n.)

[2] P stands for Peshwa, and B for the Bhonsle of Nagpur.

Raghuvir Sinh's thesis comes up to the standard of Ishwari P's thesis, with this accidental difference, however, that Ishwari Prasad dealt with an unworked field (viz., *the First Tughluq*), while portions of Raghuvir's thesis had been previously covered (though briefly) by Irvine and myself. But he has exhaustively treated this subject and fully utilised the new Marathi materials and made important elucidations of provincial topography and dynastic history. So, the quality of his work is not inferior to Ishwari Prasad's. It is very rarely even in England that a D. Litt thesis reaches the supreme level of Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*, and it would be unfair to take that classic of scholarship as our criterion either in India or even in London.

Darjiling,
23-7-36.

Busawan Lal's *Amirnamah* is in Persian ms. (I have two copies.) Prinsep published an English transln of it (1826) under the title of "*Memoirs of A. Kh, a Puthun Soldier of Fortune.*" This book is extremely scarce. It is the best authority from the Indian side on Jaswant R. Holkar[1] and affairs in Malwa, Rajp. and the Deccan from 1795 to 1818, esp. 1804-1817.

Darjiling,
20th August, 1936.

Your translation of "*Bussy's March on Poona*" is remarkably well done as regards style. The reading of your introductory paragraphs led me to a restudy of the Maratha accounts of it, and I found Purandare Daftar vol I of such absorbing interest that I stole a day and a half from my work on my third volume and translated the whole of the account of this expedition given in Purandare and identified all the places. There is one unspeakable joy when one succeeds in tracing every minute movement of a campaign on large maps like those that I possess. I had done the same thing with regard to the Palkhed campaign three years ago. The

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[1] Jaswant Rao Holkar was an illegitimate son of Tukoji Holkar. He was an eternal enemy of Daulat Rao Sindhia who had had his brother, Malhar Rao Holkar, murdered in September 1797. In consequence he ran away from Poona and took to a life of lawless plunderer directing his raiding activities chiefly against Daulat Rao's territories. He had a rare genius for military leadership and exhibited wonderful powers of organization. But he possessed an impetuous rage and an overbearing spirit and more important. he was inordinately addicted to drink which shattered his health and badly affected his reasoning powers. He died due to insanity on 28 October 1811 at the age of 30. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, IV, 138-140, 165-216 ; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, III, 331, 363-375, 437-38 ; *Main Currents of Maratha History*, 197, 204.)

Peshwa's *roznishi* in this work does not agree with that printed in Vad (1751-52.)

* * *

A memorial meeting in honour of R. R Kale should be held in Satara when I go there next. He was a noble soul—the like of which is getting rarer day by day.

Darjiling,
20th Oct. 1936.

I shall take with me a disgusting volume entitled "*The True Sevajee*" written by a Muhammadan graduate of Aligarh, to show you to what lengths malignity and ignorance can go. It is, I consider, the natural reaction against the chauvinistic brag of Savarkar—and even Rajwade, about the purely imaginary Hindu Pat Padshahi.

In spite of many distractions and fits of idleness of the brain, I have now completed the first four chapters of Vol III of my *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, and hope to write two more before I leave this place,—so as to reach the year 1784 and Mahadji's entry into Delhi politics as the dominating factor. The style is the thing that has given me most trouble, and not the facts. I long racked my brain over the problem how to make this sickening story of decadence intrigue and misery readable to the modern world. But the back of the difficulty has been broken, thanks to judicious omission, arrangement and turning round things; and the rest of the volume will be more speedily written.

Darjiling,
1st Nov., 1936.

During the last few days I have fully worked through Mahadji Sindhia's Lalsont[1] campaign of May—July 1787 and clearly settled every date and movement to the minutest point—also the conversations in the respective camps! It is a great satisfaction.

7 D, Rammohan Saha Lane,
Beadon Str P. O.,
Calcutta,
9th Nov. 1936.

Most unfortunately, strict orders have come from the Govt. of

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[1] Lalsont or Lalsot is a very large village thirty miles south-east of Jaipur in Rajasthan. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire, III, 366.*)

India that all the records in the I.R.O. [Imperial Record Office] at Calcutta must be packed up without fail before Christmas next and sent to Delhi. The Calcutta office will be totally closed at the end of this year and reopen at New Delhi on 15th Feb. next. Farewell to our dream of transcribing these records cheaply for filling up gaps in the Alienation office papers.

Calcutta,
12th January 1937.

When you go to Hyderabad, please count the Persian *sanads* of the Adilshah (Shahji, Shivaji and others unconnected with them) that Khurshid Ali has collected, and report the number only to me. His clerks can easily copy them for me, or what is better still, that rich Government can photo them for my use. I have received from him two sheets of photostats of the ms. *Masir-i-Nizami.*

* * *

I have recently bought a fine large scale map of the Talikota[1] region which illuminates the whole campaign. It is a pity I did not buy it before our visit to Mudevihal[2] &c., as it would have been most serviceable. In future we must take such maps with us on our tours of exploration.

[The following note was sent by Sarkar to Sardesai for despatch. *Ed.*]

Dear Sir, 19.1.37.

May I draw your attention to the fact that a passage in your play, "The Rani of Jhansi", (which I quote below) has caused pain to many in our country, being, so far as my knowledge goes, unsupported by evidence ?

The reminiscences of the British officers who fought against her,—Lowe, Sylvester and Duberly (this last in his wife's book),—make no aspersion on her morality, though it was a time when racial passions were roused to the extreme point, and Mrs. Duberly often conversed with Sir Hugh Rose during the Rani's last days. The Rani's lawyer, J. Long, in his "*Wanderings in India*" (reprinted from Dicken's Household Words), describes his interview with her, but does not call her a wanton. Her two contemporaries, Kaye and Malleson, and T. Rice Holmes (the author of the best book on the Mutiny) do not breathe a syllable against her character in this respect.

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[1] Talikot is situated in Muddebihal sub-division of the Bijapur District in Bombay. The battle of Talikot in which the Vijyanagar Empire was shattered by the Muslims was fought to the right of the town on 25 January 1565. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XIII, 167.)

[2] *Madenihal or Muddebihal* is 40 miles south-east of Bijapur town in the Bijapur District of Bombay. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, IX, 525.)

It is true that G. W. Forrest wrote in his "*History of the Indian Mutiny*" (Vol. III. p. 282), as late as 1912 :—

"The Ranee of Jhansi was an ardent, daring, licentious woman" ; but he quotes no authority for his last epithet, nor does he give a list of the works from which he drew his information. And, strangely enough, the volume of State papers to which this History was written by Forrest as the introduction, viz., "*Mutiny Papers preserved in the Military Department of the Government of India,*" vol. IV. *Central India,*—does not contain a single line throwing doubt on the sexual morality of the Rani. What then was the basis of Forrest's allegation, an allegation he is alone in making ?

Few Europeans know that all Brahmin women in Maharashtra have moved about unveiled and in public, spoken to and served food to strangers, from time immemorial, and that only the castes that claim to be Kshatriyas seclude their women, in imitation of the Rajputs. The ladies of several Peshwas were known to have ridden on horsebacks in the public streets and travelled like the men to camps, battlefields and pilgrim shrines. This does not really mean that any such woman was a brazen hussy,—as a European, familiar with the universal seclusion of women in Northern India and among the Muhammadans, would be apt to imagine. This mistake, I venture to think, is at the root of Lowe's remark, "The Jezebel of India was there,—the young, energetic, proud, unbending, uncompromising Ranee". (*Central India during 1857-58*, p. 236.)

If on a review of the evidence you see the justice of my contention, I am sure you will do the necessary correction in your play, for it is impossible for me to believe that you would willingly give pain to any body by making an unsupported statement about a historical character, [especially when your reading of the Rani's career is otherwise so faultless & creditable.—added by Sardesai. *Ed.*]

My only apology for troubling you on this point is that I have been a lifelong student of Maratha history and have edited for the Bombay Government 45 volumes of selections from the historical records of the Peshwas and am now working, as joint-editor with Sir Jadunath Sarkar, on the English records of the same Government, once belonging to the Poona Residency.

Yours truly

(Sign in full) G. S. Sardesai

Calcutta,
21-1-'37.

The second volume of gleanings from the Parasnis mss in the Satara Museum is of supreme importance. It must be published soon and edited by you, in spite of the labour it would involve on an overworked old man like you. But, remember nobody else can do this work even half so well as you. What a great pity that this discovery of Sivdeve's letters was not made when you were rearranging Parasnis's five Gwalior volumes, so that these new letters could have been inserted in their places in the chronological order !

Calcutta,
25th Jany. 1937.

The correspondence of Asaf Jah I. with Shahu was in Persian and never in Marathi. No separate correspondence with Baji Rao (still less with Balaji Vishwanath) was, as I believe, ever entered into by Asaf Jah. I possess most of Asaf Jah's letters to Shahu and one reply, all in Persian, including a letter in which Baji Rao is praised for his assistance at Sakar-Kheda (1724); also the Nizam's account (entirely misleading) of the Palkhed campaign written to a friend.

Darjiling,
18th March, 1937.

You write that "the Marathas considered the Nizam as their vassal......ever since Palkhed". My opinion is that if the Peshwa thought so, he was labouring under a hallucination. What the treaty after Palkhed secured was a formal promise by the Nizam that he would loyally carry out the terms of the grant of his master (the Emperor) to Balaji Vishwanath in 1719 at Delhi, and not something new exhorted by Baji Rao I in 1927,—viz. the Chauth[1] and Sardesm[2] of the Deccan Subahs, which the Nizam would collect and pay through his own officers on condition of the Marathas not entering these six subahs. This is not vassalage. If the Nizam was a Maratha vassal, why did he sign the Tripartite Treaty[3] as an equal of the English Co. and the Peshwa? Why did the Peshwa solicit (and not command) his co-operation in the Maratha projects against Tipu or the English? I wonder that a cool-headed man like you do not see how Maratha chauvinists like Rajwade and Savarkar make themselves ridiculous by making such absurd boasts about Hindu Pat Padshahi, paramountcy &c.

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[1] The *Chauth* or one-fourth of the estimated revenue was a tribute exacted by the Marathas from the territories and municipalities which they conquered or partially subjugated. More often than not they also levied Chauth on territories which they merely overran. (Sardesai, *Main Currents of Maratha History*, 80-82.)

[2] Sardeshmukhi was a kind of revenue ownership. (For details see Sardesai, *Main Currents of Maratha History*, 86-99.)

[3] The Tripartite treaty was concluded at Poona on 1 June 1790 but Nizam Ali, the Nawab of Hyderabad, put his signature on the treaty on 4 July.

Darjiling,
15th April, 1937.

During the last three days I worked through Dongre's ed. of the Chandrachud papers; the papers are mostly of first rate importance, but the editing—a rather total absence of editing—is disgraceful. Every date is wrong; dates of writing or dates of arrival are given indiscriminately at the top without informing the reader in every case what it really signifies. What a pity that nobody can make a fresh search through the 30 or 40 Chandra-Chud *rumals* at the Mandal and try to recover the missing sheets of the letters printed as अपूर्ण; I am sure they are there, just as I have discovered the missing sheets of many of the *S. P. D.* letters in other volumes of the same series.

I spent a couple of days, correcting the dates in Dongre's volume. Necessarily, the inquest took me through the first volume of the *Maheshwar D. Batami patren,* which also I corrected laboriously. In the result, my admiration for Ahalya Bai now knows no bound. We had so long been honouring her as a *devi, i.e.*, a pious Hindu lady, who lived a simple abstemious life though enjoying queenly rank and income, built many temples, ghats &c., and gave away vast sums and tracts of land in charity. But now I see, and can prove it by documentary evidence, that she was a first rate statesman. That was why she so staunchly supported Mahadji Sindhia; like draws to like. But for her co-operation,—even patronage—to Mahadji in his first stage, he could not have attained to that eminent success in North Indian politics. The social atmosphere of that age now appears vividly before my mind's eye. What a tremendous sensation the conferment of the Regency of Delhi (*mukhtari*) on Mahadji created in the Hindu world of the South. What enormous caravans of pilgrims,—10,000 or 5,000 persons—started for the "three tirthas", now that they were in the hands of "our friend's friends" the English. All the while the spider at Poona was sitting idly and casting envious eyes at Mahadji's progress, setting spies on him to report the exact amount of his gains at Aligarh or the Delhi Khas mahal lands, and not moving a finger to help him in his need, nor venturing to openly declare against him ! This is extolled by the Khare school as राज कारण of the highest order ! ! !

Darjiling,
8th June, 1937.

The ocean of Marathi despatches for the very significant years 1786-1792 has almost drowned me. But I have already corrected Parasnis's dates and the rest is plain sailing. I now fully realise the inner working, the wheel within wheel, of Maratha affairs in the north, thanks to my collection of Marathi, Persian and English records in an exhaustive manner. I can now see how lonely, and yet how great Mahadji was. These unknown facts must be detailed in my book.

What was the name of Visaji Krishna's[1] son,[2] who acted as *amil* of Panipat 1771-72 ? Was Sadashiv Dinkar (Nana's spy in Sindhia's camp) a Chitpavan ?

Darjiling,
23rd June, 1937.

Yesterday I finished revising and adding notes and references to the copy of the 1st six chapters of my Vol 3 (*i.e.*, from Jan 1770 to Dec. 1784) and felt at the end of the sustained labour as if some one had beaten all the muscles of my back and sides with a stick for hours together. The subject also is extremely depressing—not a single noble character or heroic exploit to relieve the gloom of that story of intrigue [,] murder and treachery.

Now with Mahadji Sindhia as *Wakil-i-mutlaq* I have entered on better ground and hope to advance smoothly and more quickly to 1792, at which date this volume will end.

Darjiling,
18th Aug. 1937.

At last after a long long while I have a letter from your pen......... I can now understand your real condition. In view of the terrible effect of the least irregularity in the daily operations of your body and any discomfort on journeys on your mental and physical condition, we must put an end to our beloved historical excursions. Adieu to Tanjore and Penukonda[1] !.........I shall meet you at Bombay or Talegaon[2] (bec. Kamshet may be a quiet आश्रम but dreadfully lonely, and you require mental relaxation, suitable conversation or the frolics of children to cheer your last days in this Vale of Tears.......

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[1] Visaji Krishna Binivale was a Maratha commander. He distinguished himself in various campaigns and was appointed the commander of the Maratha forces in Hindustan in April 1771. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, III, 13. 32-35, 62-85 ; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 301, 331, 509, 511, 516-17 ; III, 30, 38 43.)

[2] Visaji's son Mahipat built a temple with a Persian inscription outside the city of Panipat. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, III, 35 f. n)

I am a full year behind the programme of my 3rd volume. I had finished & copied for the press half the book, six chapters (filling about 256 pages in print) and sent them to the press two months ago. 96 pages had been already printed. But six weeks ago I received Persian *akhbarat* (1779-1787) from the British Museum covering 1,600 pages of ms. which has put a new phase on the history of the period covered and created a revolution in the estimate of Mirza Najaf Kh.[3] and his Regency of the Delhi Empire, so that the last two of these six chapters have to be scrapped up and new ones written in their places ! Four months of hard labour are gone and at least six weeks of fresh writing is in store for me.

Darjiling,
17th Sep. 1937, night.

Now for yourself. I can easily understand how you have been fretting and pining at your enforced inactivity, for the last three or four months. But remember your age, your life of strenuous exertion (not merely in the routine duties of an official, but in a thousand and one fields for promoting historical research in others), and the obstinate character of the malady.......

* * *

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[1] The town and the fort of Penukonda are 40 miles south of the Anantapur town in the Andhra State. The town contains a number of Hindu and Muslim remains which bear testimony to the greatness which once it enjoyed. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XI, 135.)

[2] Talegaon is 21 miles north-west of Poona in Bombay and it is situated on the Poona-Kalyan railway line. It is a notable sanitorium

[3] Mirza Najaf Khan belonged to a Persian family and was born at Isfahan in 1737. The Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II appointed him the Regent Plenipotentiary in November 1779 and he served in this capacity till his death on 6 April 1782. He was a great statesman and shrewd diplomat, but ever since his appointment as the Regent of the Empire he had indulged in excessive licentiousness which disgraced his character and the administration. "He fills a large place in the memory of the Delhi historian," says Sir J. N. Sarkar. "only because he was the great Muslim minister of the Mughal Empire". (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, III, 38—45, 183—230 ; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, 226.)

Are you allowed to read, or is it feared that in your present state of weakness any brain exertion would cause giddiness ? If you like to have fairly pleasant reading, I shall send you Fisher's *History of Europe*, a masterpiece, which I have bought as a birthday gift for you.......

* * *

M. Martin's *Wellesley Despatches*, Vol. 5, p. 405 (Palmer[1] to Wellesley, Poona, 27 June 1800) shows that W. ordered Palmer to be supplanted by Webbe, for not being a *zabardast* resident and for his having failed to drive the Peshwa into accepting the subsidiary vassalage. Another letter (p. 407) shows that Palmer was resident on 21 Oct. following.......

Darjiling,
13th Oct. 1937.

In view of your age and long life of strenuous work, you will not, I feel sure, fret against this enforced idleness under medical advice. Nor should you regard yourself as "crippled for the rest of your life." Remember the old Hindu ideal : वार्द्धक्ये मुनिवृत्तिनाम्. After all, a man is not a machine. Why should he go on revolving and buzzing till the metallic parts fly asunder ?

P. 169, Southern Avenue,
Kalighat P. O.,
Calcutta,
9th March 1938.

May I suggest that it would be better for you to take the ms. of your British Riyasat with you to Darjiling and discuss matters and utilise my rich library of rare books, before finally submitting it to the printers ?...

* * *

Bhau's plan to have a large library installed at Kamshet is the sweetest news I have had for years. Let the books be all select, and learned, esp. classics, histories, biographies and varied dictionaries ; otherwise it cannot become an *ashram* for scholars. No novels.

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[1] William Palmer was the British Resident at Poona from 24 March 1798 to 7 December 1801. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, III, 327—28.)

Darjiling,
31st March, 1938.

Kumar Raghuvir Sinh writes:—"I have completely examined the *akhbarats* of Bahadur Shah's[1] reign (1707-12) and find that they greatly supplement and correct the history of the period. This was a period of comparative inactivity in the Deccan. Local disturbances of various Maratha lawless men were mainly restricted to a few places and were personal affairs"—(*i e.*, from the point of view of the Delhi Govt.)

"The Akhbarats of Farrukh-Siyar's[2] reign have been examined, and all the notes are ready......If Sardesai Sahib could spend a week here on his way to or from Darjiling, he will, I believe, be able to do great work, and it will be a great pleasure to me to see all the notes examined by him. My munshi will give him more details from the original (Persian ms) texts."

Darjiling,
12th July, 1938.

I left Jaipur on the 5th inst, almost killed by the heat. The work of sorting the records and copying the more important ones in Persian and Hindi, which, after having been started by me in 1924, had been stagnating since 1930, has been given a fresh impetus under my recent instructions. A second and longer visit will be paid in the latter half of October next. They have only six documents in Marathi (Modi) numbered in "Kapatdwara Register," Nos. 1508-1513, the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and sixth being from Rajah Sahu and the 4th and fifth from Khande Rao.[3]

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[1] Muhammad Muazzam entitled Bahadur Shah was born on 4 October 1643. After the death of Aurangzeb on 20 February 1707 Muazzam won the throne after the bloody battle of Jajau with his brother Azam. He, then 64 years old, ruled for five years during which time not his ability but the prestige of his father held the empire. Bahadur Shah, though a kind and generous ruler, possessed an ineffective personality and he justly earned the nickname of (*Shah-i-Bekhabar*) the "Heedless King." He died in February 1712. (Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, 46—60 ; Gupta, *Studies in Later Mughal History of the Panjab*, 15.)

[2] Muhammad Farrukh Siyar was the second son of Azim-ush-shan and was born at Aurangabad on 11 September 1683. He was a youth of thirty at the time of his accession. He was a thorough weakling and had no resolution, no constancy and no decision. In 1719 he was first blinded and afterwards strangled to death by the famous Sayyid Brothers. (Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I, 198—99, 391—94, 396—398.)

[3] Khande Rao Dhabade who was made the Senapati by Raja Shahu on 11 January 1717 had served the Maratha State loyally since the reign of Rajaram and had risen to this position by sheer dint of his merit and ability. He died on 27 September 1729. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I. 341 ; III, 37, 38, 44, 61, 65, 71, 74, 122.)

Enclosed are some details for correcting the sketch of Resident Wm. Palmer's Life in your Poona Residency volume (vol vi.)

Darjiling,
25th July, 1938.

I feel quite fresh, though my literary work is advancing slowly; indeed, I feel a sort of Oriental languor, or senile decay, already overcoming me; the brain refuses to do anything fresh or striking ! ! !

169, Southern Avenue,
Kalighat,
Calcutta,
24th Oct. 1938.

I have received here Tikekar's packet containing my drafts of the daily reports, and I shall soon take in hand a regular report of the Kamshet History Meet for printing. The printing will be done here out of our subscribed fund,—after revision by you.

This meet—or intellectual and domestic reunion—will long remain a cherished memory with all of us.

169, Southern Avenue,
Kalighat,
Calcutta,
31 Oct 1938.

I am now pushing ahead with the remaining portion of my 3rd volume, namely the restoration of Mahadji to power at Delhi from July to Dec 1788.

169, Southern Avenue,
Calcutta, K.,
23rd Nov. 1938.

It is useless to visit Sindh. I have received half a dozen letters from the overflowing and gushing pen of Gope Gur Bax on the "records" there. These are no records in the true sense of the term (except very recent ones of 1840-45 or even later,—a subject well-known from printed books and parliamentary papers.) The rest are illuminated Persian manuscripts, already available elsewhere.

* * *

I have been astounded to receive a letter from Mr. Munshi, asking me as a Foundation Member to raise subscriptions in my province! Touting for subscriptions is an art unknown to me; I practised it only once in my life to help the Peshwas' Daftar business to pass through its last year. How can I demand from Bengalis subscriptions for an educational institution in Bombay which will teach in Hindi (or Gujrati) and deal mostly with Sanskritic studies for which there are plenty of indigenous colleges and a fully equipped anglicised special Department under the University in Bengal? If this be the idea at the back of the ex-novelist-politician's mind, I had better resign.

Calcutta,
17th Feb. 1939.

P.S.

The highest British judicial opinion today is that the charge of forgery against Nand Kumar[1] was never proved by the evidence, and that Impey[2] in his charge to the jury inferred Nand Kumar's guilt from the fact that certain allegations made by him were proved to be unfounded. This was misdirection to the jury on the part of Hasting's bosom friend and quite illegal.

Calcutta,
30th March, 1939.

I fully realise the importance of publishing Elphinstone's[3] despatches, minutes and other official writings in a complete and corrected form. The small volume edited by Prof. G. W. Forrest as his first work, is marred by many gross misprints, which make it unfit for use by scholars.......But I shall heartily support the proposal to get the missing Elphinstone papers copied at Bombay, and I shall formally move the C. C. D. and the Prime Minister shortly.

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[1] Nand Kumar, born in the Murshidabad District, first saw service as the revenue collector of Parganas Hijli and Moisadal. About 1756 he served as the Governor of Hughli and was made the Maharaja by the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam about 1764. Soon afterwards, he was appointed the Collector of Burdwan, Nadia and Hughli by the East India Company. In March 1775 he brought serious charges against Warren Hastings, but was himself prosecuted in April for hatching a conspiracy. His trial aroused extraordinary interest and while this case was still undecided, he was sentenced to death for forgery in another case and was hanged on 5 August 1775. (*Cambridge History of India*, V, 146, 169, 174, 209, 210, 232-4, 235-39, 246; Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, 319-20.)

[2] Impey, Sir Elijah, was born in 1732 and came to India in 1774 when he was knighted and appointed the chief justice of Bengal. He held this office till 1789. He sentenced Nand Kumar to death for forgery in 1775. He died in 1809. (*Concise Dictionary of National Biography*, 670.)

[3] Elphinstone, Mountstuart, was the British Resident at Poona from 28 February 1811 to 3 June 1818 when he became the first Governor of Bombay. He held this office till 1827 and on his retirement declined to become the Governor General of India. He was the author of *History of India* and *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul*, 2 vols. He died in 1859 at the age of 80. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, III, 328; *Concise Dictionary of National Biography*, 401.)

Calcutta,
30 March, 1939.

2. As far the History of India, I have no hope of any progress being achieved, unless the full cost for the first three years—including the writer's honoraria and the printing charge—is collected and deposited in a bank before a single line is written or arranged to be written. I have had too long an experience of our patriots' self-sacrifice, "service of mother India," Brahmacharya labours and that class of political slogans to rely on mere words and waste my precious time. Jaychandra relied on Rajendra Prasad to collect the money through his political influence, and only a small sum has been collected and a few thousand Rs provided for the purpose in the next Bihar Budget by Dr. Mahmud, the Ed. Minister. Munshi has proved the closest imitator of Madan Mohan Malaviya as a "dealer in wind"—वाद फ़रोश.

3. So, I have decided (1) to resign from the Bombay Vidya Mandir Committee as soon as Jaychandra leaves it, or in December next at the latest, and (2) to issue a press communique in January 1940 that the Benares scheme having made no progress at all in two full years, I have thus publicly washed my hands of it.

Darjiling,
12th May, 1939.

Recently I have received many absolutely contemporary letters written by officers of Kumar Ram Singh[1] at Agra describing Shivaji's visit to Aurangzib, his captivity and flight with full details from inside information and reports of Shivaji's conversation put down immediately after and a long description of his personal appearance. I have illuminated the Purandar[1] campaign, Panipat and Lalsot, aud now I shall do the same for "Shivaji and Aurangzib".

---

[1] Kumar Ram Singh was the agent of his father, Mirza Raja Jai Singh, at Aurangzeb's Court. Due to Shivaji's escape from captivity at Agra in 1666 he fell out of favour with the Emperor who sent him to fight in Assam, where the poor fellow died of plague. (Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 136, 138-39, 141-43, 146, 151 ; *House of Shivaji*, 129, 144, 148-49 ; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 166, 178, 180.)

Calcutta,
17 June 1939.

I have just finished correcting (and in some cases supplying) the dates of the letters (all in Dingal) from the Jaipur Court agents during the eventful year 1666 which reached me yesterday. They are not superfluous, but tell us hitherto unknown facts in great detail about

(1) Shivaji's conversations with Ram S. during his captivity,

(2) The torturing of the Brahman Joshis by Fulad Kh[2] Kotwal to make them falsely implicate Ram S. in Shiva's flight

(3) The adventures of Paramanand,[3] who in going back from Agra, was arrested in Jaipur territory,

(4) Aurangzib's varying attitude to Ram S. and—what is most funny,

(5) Aurangzib's disposal of the "left luggage" of Shiva seized at Agra after his flight. The pious Emperor would not touch the property of the infidel rebel, but gave it away (including camels, tents, &c) to the Qazi !

Calcutta,
23-6-1939.

P.S. The Kumar has paid me Rs 250/- This, with my subs. of Rs 200/- makes Rs 450/- received by me for the Kamshet Week publications. Out of this amount I am meeting the charges of subsidising the theses of H. R. Gupta and A. L. Srivastav and the full cost of our Report.

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[1] The fortress of Purandhar is 20 miles south-east of Poona. It is a double fort with an independent and strong sister enclosure named Vajragarh. Both are situated on the ridge of the hill. Fortified by Hasan Gangu in 1350 A. D. it passed into the hands of Maloji, the grandfather of Shivaji during the reign of Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar. It was twice captured by Aurangzeb in 1665 and 1670. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, IX, 297-98 ; Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, 82.)

[2] Fulad Khan was the police prefect of Agra. He was an Abyssinian and was a very strict officer. (Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 145, 147; *House of Shivaji*, 148-49; *Short History of Aurangzib*, 203; *History of Aurangzib*, IV, 106; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 174.)

[3] Paramanand was the court poet of Shivaji and the author of *Shiva Bharat*, a Sanskrit epic. He is first mentioned at Agra in July 1666. Probably he was placed under detention on 23 August aud finally brought back to Chandangaon on 26 December 1666. "There is no further news in the Jaipur letters about the poet Permanand." (Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 394; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 53, 54, 74, 179.)

169, Southern Avenue,
Calcutta, K,
28th, June, 1939.

The second Sanskrit letter from Shambhuji's Court to Ram S, is, I find, quite correctly transcribed; your difficulty was in reading the N. Indian Balbodh......

* * *

In a couple of months I shall send to the press (and print rapidly in two months) a companion volume to my *Studies in Mughal India* entitled "*The House of Shivaji*"—or "Studies and Documents in Maratha History, royal period". It will include translations of the Purandar Campaign despatches of J. S (discovered by me in Paris & partly published in Mod Rev) and the best of the new Jaipur letters on the visit to Agra (1666), besides a full study of Shivaji's History from the Persian & Eng. records.

Calcutta,
4th Aug. 1939.

Kishan Singh was the only son of Rajah Ram Singh of Amber (the eldest son of Mirza Rajah Jai S. I.) This young man, when serving in the imperial army near Parenda was fatally stabbed by an Afghan named Dilir (—not the celebrated general Dilir Kh) and died on 10th April 1682. The cause was a quarrel about a woman. But, as usual, the Rajputs ascribed the murder to the secret instigation of Aurangzib, as they did the natural death of Prithvi Singh[1], the only son of Jaswant Singh[2] of Jodhpur who died before his father when serving in Afghanistan. (See Tod, *Annals of Marwar.*)

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[1] After the departure of Maharaja Jaswant Singh to Jamrud, Aurangzeb sent an urgent call to Prithvi Singh to repair to Court. He obeyed the imperial order and was invested with a robe of honour by the Emperor. "That day was his last !—he was taken ill soon after reaching his quarters, and expired in great torture, and to this hour his death is attributed to the poisoned robe of honour presented by the king" and "this mode of being rid of enemies is firmly believed by the Rajpoots,............". (James Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, II, 40.)

[2] Jaswant Singh was the son of Raja Guj of Marwar. In the middle of 1671 Aurangzeb appointed him the *thanadar* of Jamrud outpost where he died fighting on 10 December 1678. Sir J. N. Sarkar says, "Unhappy was the man who put faith in Maharaja Jaswant Singh, lord of Marwar and chieftain of the Rathor clan." (Sarkar, *Short History of Aurangzib*, 160; *History of Aurangzib*, II, 170-71; III, 228, 325; James Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, II, 33, 36-43.)

Your paper on Paramanand would be quite valuable. Give his whole life and family history, as reconstructed by you from Kolhapur information and the Jaipur records.

* * *

I am over four months behind my old programme of work. The Jaipur History has reached only the end of Sawai Jai S's[1] career (1743), except that the very important and difficult chapter on his astronomical works and capital remains to be written. Thereafter, it will be plain sailing upto 1803, as I have already worked through Kachhwa—Maratha relations. An immense mass of new records is being sent to me from Jaipur even now,—*e.g., Akhbarat* of 1663, 1680, 1717-18, &c. In fact, I have had to reconstruct the entire career of Sawai Jai S. which was formerly quite dark. Not one line has been yet written of the Gosavi's book.......

169, Southern Avenue,
Calcutta,
23rd Aug. 1939.

I have recently received from Jaipur more *akhbarat* of Aurangzib's reign, commencing only a few days after Shivaji's flight from Agra, the most interesting news from which has been summarised in the annexed paper,—which please return to me as soon as you can copy it. This son, born to Shivaji in Sep. 1666, must have died in infancy, because Shambhuji and Rajaram were born in other years.

* * *

The immense amount of labour that had to be devoted to correctly dating, sorting, annotating and—often summarising—the Jaipur mass of records, has retarded all my other work, including the revision of the Hindi translation of my Shivaji which is going to be printed at Bombay. My Jaipur history came to a stop at the year 1725 about three weeks ago, but I am resuming my pen from today.......

Calcutta,
28th Aug. 1939.

Monsieur A. Lehuraux (lately a high officer of Ralli Brothers) is now at Poona (c/o Mrs. Clarke, 18, Napier Road, Wanowrie). He is visiting the Alienation Office, in search of information relating to—

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[1] Swai Jai Singh succeeded to the throne of Jaipur State on 3 February 1700. Fighting under the Mughal banner he distinguished himself in numerous campaigns and built for himself a reputation for gallantry and leadership. He also served as the governor of Malwa. He was a benign, generous and popular ruler and introduced many a reform. He patronised art and learning and was particularly interested in astronomy. He built the famous *Jantarmantar* at Delhi. He died on 23 September 1743 at the age of 53. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 34, 37, 101-103, 111-12, 141-42, 145, 148-51, 199, 235; James Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, II, 288; Sarkar to Sardesai, 24. 3. 41.)

(1) indentification of the French tombs at Poona,—on the Sankarseth Road, on Ghorpuri Lines and in Gharpir cemetery. ("Are there any records, of these burials, and where shall I find them ?"

(2) Despatches of the Resident at Hyderabad to the G. G. re the disbandment of the Nizam's French Corps raised by Raymond. (I know these are in the Poona Residency files, already typed.)

(3) Correspondence bet the Resident at Poona and the G. G. relating to the events which led up to the battle of Harapsar[1] (25 Oct. 1802) —also the names of the European & Goan officers in the camps of Holkar, Sindhia & the Peshwa in that battle. Dudrenec fought on Holkar's side. I am here stranded far away from my Darjiling Library. Please search in Khare's volumes for the names of the officers concerned and the burials (if any information is available on the latter point.)

Calcutta,
8 Sep. 1939.

Can you induce Gosavi Dattagir to release me from my agreement to write the history of his order, for which he has advanced Rs 2,000 to me ? I shall repay him this amount, plus interest at one % per annum (the Bank pays me only ½ p. c.) and Rs 2-8 as the cost of the stamp on my agreement if he will give me quittance. He is not alone, but has dragged in (or has been compelled to coopt with himself) a number of other Gosavis, who are not sensible people like him, and I now perceive (with disgust) that they wish that I should somehow or other give my opinion that Shankaracharya lived before Christ and not in 800 A.D. He had originally (*i.e.*, 5 years ago) asked me to write the history of the fighting monks (Nagas or Gosavis)—a matter of pure history, to which I had agreed ; but now (*i.e.*, in Jan. last) when they made the actual agreement, they asked for a history of the religion & of the banking houses of the order in addition ! It would be a blessing to me if I can be released from this prison.

Calcutta,
10th Oct. 1939.

I have found that more Dingal newsletters of 1666, which the Jaipur people had wrongly dated 1765 !

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[1] Hadapsar or Harapsar is a neighbouring village of Singarh (Kondaneh) which is 8 miles south of Poona in the Bombay State. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*. I, front page map—and III, 375.)

No. 298, written from Delhi on 19th Nov. 1666—Deccan newsletters have just reached the Emperor to the effect that it has been learnt from the spies sent out (by Mirza Rajah) that Shiva slipped out of here (really Agra) at midnight and reached his fort in 25 days. His son, who was with him, died on the way. There (in Shivaji's fort) another son has been born to him. Shiva remained for one day prostrated (with fatigue or grief ?) असमाध्या रहा and afterwards became strong again And he has now some other illness. Mirza Rajah's army has reached Bid[1].

No. 297.—written from Agra, 23 Aug. 1666 :—

That day Kavishwar Paramanand of Shivaji alighted at Dausa[2] along with

Elephants male & female	2
Sukhpal	2
Camels	2
Horse	1
Infantry...	40
Bullocks...........	2

Paramanand is falsely declaring that Shivaji had bestowed on him the female elephant with the *hawda* on it.

The bullock loads of clothing are being searched.

Please send me the abstract from the additional Dingal *akhbarat* about Shivaji's flight......

P. 62, Lansdowne Road Extension
Kalighat P. O.,
Calcutta,
5-12-39.

Don't come to hold the Sarkar Funeral[3] celebrations on the 10th of this month here, in your present state of health.

P. 62, Lansdowne Road Extension,
Kalighat P.O.,
Calcutta,
12 th Dec. 1939, night.

This year I preside over the Session of the Records Commission.

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[1] *Bid or Bir or Bhir* is a town situated 68 miles east of Ahmadnagar. (Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 50.)

[2] *Dausa or Dasa* was once the capital of the former Jaipur State. It is 38 miles east of Jaipur in Rajasthan. It contains many Hindu temples and ancient buildings. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, IV, 161.)

[3] This refers to the proposed Jadunath's birthday celebrations by G. S. Sardesai.

Another year is passing with me in the Chair but not you by my side. However, I do not grieve at it ; your health is our supreme consideration.

P. 62, Lansdowne Road Extension,
Kalighat P.O.,
Calcutta.
[Date not Given]

Need I go to Kamshet for giving the finishing touches to the new edition of the S. P. D ? As all my Gazetteers, notes and Persian mss will be in Calcutta soon, every little question that arises can be easily solved and every reference promptly supplied in my library,- whereas at Kamshet I shall be like a soldier without his arms.........

* * *

One essential point is to secure Pissurlencar's corrections about dates and facts in the Bassein and Jinjera[1] volumes. But he is such a busy man that I despair of getting this work out of him. You can however write to him to lend you his own set of these volumes marked with the corrections he noted down on them while reading. After transcribing this corrections you will return his volumes to him. That seems to be the only way to have the benefit of his specialist knowledge without encroaching upon his time.

* * *

What was the exact equivalent in English pounds of one Khandi[2] of Shivaji's time ? Wilson gives the Puna Khandi as 20 maunds of 25 lbs each, total 500 lbs.

P. 62, Lansdowne Road Extension,
Kalighat P.O.,
Calcutta,
4th Jany. 1940.

The arrangement and correction of the S.P.D. will take a long time no doubt. But I do not see why we two together cannot finish the important and essential portion of the task in a fortnight in my library here in April next, leaving the mechanical portion of the work to be done later by Dighe under your eyes at Poona or Kamshet. In this connection two things are essential, viz. (1) securing from Dighe a ms copy of the additional important letters he has picked out for the proposed 46th vol. of the series, and also the missing वंद of some of the letters in vols 1-45 that he may have discovered, and (2) inducing Pissurlencar to lend you his Bassein, West Coast and Jinjera vols. of the S. P. D. with his corrections.

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[1] Jinjira was a small Muslim State held by the Abyssinian Nawabs with an area of 325 square miles situated on the western coast of India. It was divided into two portions by the Rajpuri Gulf. Now it has been merged in Bombay. There is also a town of the same name in this State, 44 miles south of Bombay and it contains a fort. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, VII, 137-144.)

[2] "Khandi is a measure of weight varying at different places. At Poona it consisted of 20 Poona maunds of 25 lbs. each." (Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, 166 f. n.)

I have grave doubts about Saletore's authorities. At the last session of the Record Commission here he narrated the story of Randaula Kh's[1] Ikkeri[2] campaign on the strength of books written 157 years or even more later than the event, while I have used Bijapuri Court chronicles that are absolutely contemporary.......

P. 62, Lansdowne Road Extension,
Kalighat P.O.,
Calcutta,
8th Jany. 1940.

Thanks for your corrections. The Persian ms. distinctly reads Mahuli[3] and not Mulher[4]. Shivaji's recapture of Mahuli was a splendid feat to boast of, (see my *Shivaji*, 3rd ed., p. 170), while Mulher, though constantly going with Salher[5] in the records was a commonplace affair.

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[1] Randaulah Khan, an Abyssinian general of Bijapur, was the son of Farhad Khan. He led many expeditions and won laurels of victory He captured the fort of Ikkeri on 3 December 1637 and was given the title of *Rustam-i-Zaman* in 1638. He died in 1643. (Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, 13, 64-65, 87, 161; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 64-65, 71-72, 75.)

[2] The town of Ikkeri is now known as Sagar. It is situated 40 miles west-north-west of Shimoga in the Shimoga District of the old Mysore State. (Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, 7; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 71; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XII, 111.)

[3] Mahuli is 50 miles north-east of Bombay in the Thana District of the Bombay State. It has a famous fort which was built by the Mughals. Quite close to this fort there are two other fortresses of Palasgarh and Bahadurgarh. (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, 202, *Shivaji*, 166; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, IX, 186-87.)

[4] Mulher is situated on the Mosan river. Mulher and Sulher were renowned throughout India as invincible forts. (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, 51.)

[5] The town of Sulher is situated 5,263 feet above the seal evel. It is 9 miles south-west of Mulher. (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, 51.)

Calcutta,
19 Jan 1940.

Please send me a clean copy of the Sanskrit text of the better one of the two Sanskrit letters from Shambhuji to Ram Singh Kachhwa urging him against Aurangzib, and also your English translation of it,-or at least the text only, as soon as possible. I want to print it.

P. 62, Lansdowne Rd Exten.
Kalighat P. O.,
Calcutta,
23-2-40.

1. Malet's Letter book is of only secondary importance as regards the history of India, but it is an integral part of his life story, and besides fully dealing with Broach affairs gives good contemporary criticism of the English side of the First Maratha War. The ms being unique, I insisted on its publication. I shall revise the editor's introduction again, but the nature of the letters prevents the volume rising to the height of vols. 1 and 2 of the series. It cannot be helped.

The diary of each Peshwa ought to go into tne volumes dealing with the respective campaigns in which he took part and not all into a separate volume. The former arrangement is more helpful to students. E.g., Balaji Rao's Bengal itinerary ought to go into the Nagpur Affairs volumes. Baji Rao 1's North Indian diary is more naturally an integral part of the vols on his North Indian and Malwa campaigns.

I finished correcting the proofs of your Close volume two months ago. Then thanks to the assistance of the I.R.O (New Delhi) I secured the missing portion of letter No. 100 A, (the correct date of which is 6 July 1805.) . As for the incomplete letter No. 151 (Sydenham[1] to Arthur Wellesley), I want to search Wellington's *Supplementary Despatches* ed. by his son, for it. But my copy of it (vol V) is in Darjiling and the wrteched Calcutta University does not possess it......

P. 62, Lansdowne Extension,
Kalighat P. O.,
Calcutta,
6th March 1940.

More *akhbarats* of Farrukhsiyar's reign, especially the years 1713-

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[1] Sydenham, Thomas, was the Assistant Private Secretary to Lord Wellesley in 1799 and the Resident at Hyderabad from 1806 to 1810. He held the post of Charge d' Affairs at Lisbon in 1811 and was appointed the Minister Plenipotentiary in 1815. He died at Geneva in 1816. (Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, 411.)

1718 have been discovered in Jaipur recently and have been sent by me to the Kumar [Raghuvir Sinh] to be transcribed for his library before being returned to the owner. You have worked on the few papers of that period which were supplied to the Kumar in 1933-35 and which he has abridged in English. Therefore, your sketch of Balaji Vishwanath will require to be supplemented from this source. Approximately the new papers for 1707-1719 are ten times the number of the papers previously transcribed for the Kumar.

P. 255, Lansdowne R. Extension,
Kalighat P. O.,
Calcutta.
28-4-40.

I have received copious *akhabarats* of Aurangzib, years 1682-84. which throw a flood of new light on Shambhuji and Akbar, with minute details and precise dates.

P. 225, Lansdowne Road Extension,
Kalighat P. O.,
Calcutta,
8th May, 1940.

Now to your queries.

(1) Shah Jahan, when appointing Aurangzib viceroy of the Deccan in 1636, gave him no particular orders to be watchful about Shahji (-whose son was then too young to be mentioned), but some generals were deputed under the young subahdar to attack Shahji and wrest his forts. This campaign ended successfully after Shah Jahan had returned from the Deccan to Mandu.[1] While he was in the Deccan, he laid it down as an express article of his treaty with Bijapur that Shahji was to be expelled from Maharashtra and sent off (as an officer of Adil Shah) to the Karnatak. See my *History of Aurangzib*, vols. 1 & 2 (2nd ed) p. 34.

Aurangzib when about to start for the north to contest his father's throne (1657), gave his officers repeated warnings to be on their guard against Shivaji—"that son of a dog." For his exact words see the same book, pp. 258 footnote & 338.

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[1] *Mandu or Mandagarh* was the capital of the ancient kingdom of Malwa. It is now a deserted place situated on the bank of the Narbada 30 miles south-east of Mhow, 20 miles south of Dhar. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, IX, 308-9.)

(2) The वंशभास्कर was completed in 1841 in the Rajasthani Hindi dialect, called Dingal. There is no evidence that Baji Rao I. visited Udaipur and Jaipur in 1729. His visit in 1736 is fully described by me in my *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, i. pp. 261-265. It is pure moonshine to suggest that Baji Rao and Jai S. planned to co-operate in founding a Hindu Pat-Padshahi. We make ourselves ridiculous when we read the ideals and thoughts of 20th century English-educated nationalists into the lives of sectarian or clannish champions of the 17th and 18th centuries. Quotations from the वंशभास्कर (mere late traditions, without a single State paper or contemporary record to support them) are annexed.

Note by Sir Jadunath Sarkar
Hony. M. R. A. S. (London) & Cor. Mem. Royal Hist. Soc. of England

The duty of the research professor of South Indian (not exclusively Maratha) History at the Deccan College is to conduct research of his own and also to train pupils in research. This work can be done only by a scholar who has given evidence of his power of producing authoritative books (as distinct from mere magazine articles or translations of old documents) and can also attract and handle advanced students. Mere lecturing—it may be to empty benches (—) is not the essence of his duty. Even a knowledge of the Modi script is not so essential as proved critical acumen and power of historical reconstruction, for given the latter two qualities, the linguistic knowledge may be acquired later without any difficulty, as Sarkar acquired a knowledge of Persian and (printed) Marathi after leaving College. Whatever be the special field of his past research, if the professor is a man of reputation and first-rate foreign training (not bogus American degrees), he can quickly adjust himself to this work and pick up the necessary language. Before that he will do a signal service by reorganising the research work and attracting and setting to work promising students (—not unemployed loafer B.A.'s). His fame (it may be in fields other than Maratha history) will bring to him eager and diligent research scholars and his past experience and knowledge of the mechanism of European research centres will enable him to employ them to the best purpose.

It is a waste of public money if such a man is not employed. In his absence it is better to keep the post vacant for a year or two. None of the five applicants comes within a mile of these two indispensable requisites. It is better to keep the chair unoccupied rather than fill it with a mere college class lecturer.

Jadunath Sarkar
18.5.40.

Draft of Report

We do not consider any of the five applicants adequately qualified for the post. This chair of South Indian History at the Deccan College is not like a lecturer's post in an ordinary degree college whose duties can be discharged by the conventional kind of class lecturing and taking a roll-call day after day. The occupant of this chair must give evidence of his actual performance of research to the satisfaction of the learned world at large.

Yet, this chair is of very great importance and interest to the province, and we should very much regret to see it end in nothing like the still-born Satara Historical Museum, on which over two lakhs of Rupees have been spent by now, taking the capital and recurring expenditure into account.

We, therefore, recommend a radical change in order to get something really valuable in return for the public funds spent on this department of the Deccan College. The field is promising, provided that Government can place in charge of this section an educationist of known ability and recognised research power, who will be able to attract and influence advanced students of history. Such a scholar need not know Modi at the outset, as his teaching capacity and research power are far more important than that particular linguistic equipment. For example, Father H. Heras. organised a highly efficient school of historical research at the St. Xavier's College, Bombay, though his pupils often took up subjects of study, in some of which the materials were in languages unknown to Father Heras. It is the right methodology that counts ; it is the man at the head who can mould his subordinate workers. Therefore, in view of the absence of any scholar—both among these five applicants and among the Marathi writers outside who have made any mark, so far as we know,—possessed of the requisite intellectual training, research experience and driving power, we make the following recommendation as an alternative.

(1) That the condition of ability to read the Modi script be waived for the present, and published evidence of high class constructive historical research insisted in the place of it.

(2) The incumbent so appointed be enlisted for three years on probation at the end of which he must show himself qualified to read Modi manuscripts as a condition precedent to his confirmation.

(3) The Governing Body of the Deccan College should be reduced to a more manageable size and removed from local intrigues, by placing the institution in future under a small authoritative body composed of (1) the Commissioner, C.D. (2) the D.P.I., (3) the Principal, Fergusson College, (4) the Principal Deccan College and (5) a recognised historical authority selected by Government.

(4) As there is much work waiting to be done, the archivist recently appointed at the Alienation Office may, for three years, be transferred to the Education Department and placed under the new Deccan College Professor of Indian History (appointed under terms 1 and 2 above) and made to continue Rao Bahadur G S. Sardesai's work among the Peshwas' Daftar and the Parasnis mss from the Satara Museum (which are cognate branches of the same species of Marathi historical materials.) As the Satara mss have been now removed to the Deccan College, and research among the Peshwas' records was discontinued for lack of funds after the publication of 45 vols (under G. S. Sardesai's editorship), this work must be continued at the Deccan College instead of the Alienation Office and Mr. V. G. Dighe being a trained hand and former assistant of Rao B. Sardesai, he can be set to this task immediately.

If the above view is accepted, we recommend the appointment of Dr. B.A. Saletore on a three years' term to the vacant chair at the Deccan College. Delay is deprecated as Government is bound to show something tangible in return for the money so long spent on this department of the Deccan College and satisfy the public expectations.

Kalighat P. O.,
Calcutta,
18th May, 1940.

The editing of the S. P. D. can be best done when I shall spend a fortnight at Kamshet next October, as I am due to deliver three lectures at the Bombay University.

P. 255, Lansdowne Road Extension,
Kalighat P. O.,
30th July, 1940.

Since our college days, the history of the Hindu period of Indian history has undergone a complete revolution and the progress in this field is still going on, so that books and editions, even comparatively recent, are becoming obsolete. Vincent Smith's *Early History of India,* which first summarised these gains to our knowledge in 1906, though brought out in a 4th edn. by S. M. Edwards in 1920, is now out of date. *The Cambridge History of India,* vol I of the six volumes edn, ends with 300 A.D., but it is a very unsatisfactory work and now entirely superseded. The rewriting and expansion of the Ist part of your शाळेयपोगि will require considerable reading, thought and time on your part if your rivals and critics are to be denied any opportunity for laughing at your mistakes in public, because this period is a field entirely untrodden by you before and outside the range of your life-long literary interests.

On a full view of all the circumstances, I can suggest only the following scheme.

1. Read the *Cambridge Short History of India* (sold by Macmillan, Bombay) 12s/6 net, very carefully and slowly and make it the basis of your sketch, though several facts and dates in it require modifications today (as Dr. R. C. Majumdar tells us.) It will supply an admirable framework.

2. Then utilise Dr. Hem C. Roy Chaudhuri's (not H. C. Roy's) *History of Hindu India* (latest edition, pub. by the Calcutta Univy, price Rs. 10 or 12)—to be distinguished from his Matriculation History of India (all periods.) This will enable you to insert corrections and additional touches, but you cannot possibly go into the minute details of this book, nor need you.

3. Pick out of Vincent Smith's *Early History of India,* 4th edn, some accounts of literature, art, religion and culture and character-sketches, as these are still of value and he knew the art of expression well.

4. Macdonell's *History of Sanskrit Literature* for a few paragraphs on that particular subject.

5. On the history of Buddhism, take your facts from Kern's *Manual of Indian Buddhism* which still retains some value, though written 45 years ago and therefore silent about the recent vastly expanded information on Mahayan Buddhism in Central Asia, Gandhara &c. But you are not required to go into such details.

You will find most of the above books in the Bombay University Library.

The writings of K. P. Jayaswal, though containing a few original discoveries, are ninety-nine per cent pure nationalistic brag and moonshine, and you would be well advised to keep clear of his theories.

Don't crowd your canvas by going into details about our countless minor dynasties; either omit or dismiss them with a bare mention. Try to lay your emphasis on the great dynasties—and only on the great personages in them,—and give (instead of dry summaries of names) reflections on the characteristics of periods, culture and great characters and their influence on Indian life and society,—so as to have a clear impression on the reader and to make your presentation memorable.

Kalighat, P. O.,
Calcutta,
3-8-40.

Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, pp. 380-381, contains my summary of the Palkhed campaign and the Treaty of Shevgaon. The volume is priced 42 s. net (Macmillan Bombay), but you cannot do without it. Every stage in the great Rao's movements has been traced and identified in a ms. note-book, which I cannot find out among my as-yet-unarranged loose papers and notes. But I am writing to Dr. Raghuvir to send it on to you, in case it has been lent to him for being copied. My sources are (1) The Peshwas' diaries ed. by Vad (2) the Nizam's movements as given (very briefly) in the Persian *Hadiqa-i-Alam* and (3) a Persian letter (very boastful & untrue) written by the Nizam. Hamid Khan was not the Jangli Shahzada; the latter was a different man altogether. *Siyar* is often unreliable for events outside Bengal & Bihar.

Kalighat P. O.,
Calcutta,
24. 8. 40.

Please consult Irvine's *Later Mughals*, vol. ii, p. 78-79 *n* (for Hamid Khan, the younger brother of the first Nizam's father & why he was nicknamed Jangli Shahzada,—he was not at all connected by blood with the Emperor), and p. 297 *n* (For Mastani[1].) I can find no contemporary accounts of Mastani's origin. Ashob (in his Persian history, *Tarikh-i-Md. Shah*, my ms. p. 413 of vol i.) says that she was a Kanchani or dancing girl, and gives a few lines to her fine horsewomanship and skill in handling the sword and spear. "She always accompanied Baji Rao in his campaigns and rode stirrup to stirrup with him" (p. 413). Nasik was named Gulshanabad[1] in Aurangzib's reign; there is no doubt about it.......

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[1] The origin of Mastani, a Muslim dancing girl, is unknown. Probably she was presented to Peshwa Baji Rao I by Chhatra Sal Bundela in 1729. He developed a great infatuation for her and popular voice attributed Baji Rao's love of wine and meat to his association with Mastani. "She dressed, talked and lived in Hindu fashion and looked after Baji Rao's comforts with the devotion of a wife." This love-affair developed into a scandal and in consequence she was imprisoned by Nana Sahib. She bore him a son in 1734 and "as soon as the news of Baji Rao's death reached Mastani she died in the palace of Poona, whether by suicide or of shock it is difficult to say." (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 297 n.)

P. 255, Lansdowne R. Extension,
Kalighat P.O.,
23-9-40.

I have no hope that गोसावी दस्तगिर will keep his promise of showing us the "boundless store of records" at Bajranggarh[2] (Bundelas) and some place 20 miles outside Bangalore.......

P. 255, Lansdowne Rd Extension,
Kalighat P.O.,
Calcutta,
21st Oct 1940, Night.

Soon after writing my last post card to you, I addressed a long letter (four folio pages) to Babu Rajendra Prasad revealing the entire situation to him. In it I stressed the facts that

(1) the Benares scheme hangs by the slender cord of his own precarious health and (2) only some University or learned society can supply a permanent and publicly-controlled managing body for the publication of this History. Shortly after this, I received prof. Nilkanth Shastri's letter to Jaychandra (which I enclose) and which shows that Sir S. Radhakrishnan has stolen a march over us and already secured the support of Krishnamachari (and through K, of Rajagopalachari.) So, at last there is a hope that we two old men may drop down from the tree and escape. At Baroda[3] the question will be pushed to conclusion, and in the meantime we shall know Rajen Babu's wishes.

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[1] Nasik renamed as Gulshanabad during Aurangzeb's reign is situated on the Godavari in Bombay State. It is the chief town of the Nasik District and one of the most holy places of the Hindus. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, X, 235.)

[2] The town of Bajranggarh was the capital of the Guna Sub-Agency of the Old Gwalior State. There is held a fair in October every year which lasts for 15 days. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, I, 439.)

[3] The town of Baroda is situated 62 miles south-east of Ahmadabad and 80 miles north of Surat on the rivulet Visuamitri and it is connected with the cantonment of the same name by four stone bridges on the stream Once the chief town of the Baroda State now included in Bombay, it contains numerous temples, tombs and fine wells such as the Nav Lakh Ki Bawli, etc. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, II, 170-171.)

Now to the more immediate problem of my tour programme for December next. .....

* * *

To add to my misfortune—and expenditure,—Lady Sarkar is importuning me to take her to Baroda, via Bombay, where our third daughter now is. If she goes, as sure as anything, two other daughters,- Mrs. Bose (with her appendix, little कणुः) and Rama, will go with her, as well as a Brahman cook for them. After reaching Bombay they will make a pilgrimage to Nasik. (I need not earn the merit of this pious pilgrimage, but do it vicariously through my life's partner.)

If these are tacked on to me, I must return to Calcutta by the 30th December next.......

Kalighat P. O.,
22nd Oct. 1940, Night

Dattagir spoke of a wilderness of records in Tikamgarh[1] or Bajranggarh (Central India.) If there be any truth in it, I am prepared to visit the place on my way back, *i.e.*, at the beginning of January next, provided that Dattagir accompanies us and secures written permission beforehand. His sect have a rich monastery some miles from Hyderabad—it will be on our way to Bangalore.

Kalighat P.O.,
Calcutta,
5th Nov. 1940, night.

I do not possess the text of Nadir Shah's[2] Persian letter to Baji Rao I. It is not included in Parasnis's Persian ms. collection of which I took transcripts in Oct. 1916. But in my ms of the History of Muhammad Shah[1] by Ashub, vol. II. p 391, it is mentioned that from Delhi Nadir issued letters to the Rajput princes, Shahu and the Peshwa, ordering them to obey Md. Shah loyally in future. It was evidently one letter, with the name of the addressee changed in each case.

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[1] *Tikamgarh, Tehri or Tiri* was the capital of Tehri or Orchha State in Bundelkhand in Central India. It is 40 miles north of Orchha which was once the capital of the State, and 30 miles east of Lalitpur. There is a large fort. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XIII, 236.)

[2] Nadir Shah, the greatest Asian general of his time, was born in 1688 in a poor Turkoman family of Khorasan. He passed his boyhood in extreme poverty and privation. To keep body and soul together he turned a robber. His genius for leadership and bold exploits won him many companions and he soon came to command a large band of hardy and adventurous followers. He became the king of Persia with the title of Shahanshah Nadir Shah on 26 February 1736. He invaded India in 1739 and the total amount of plunder secured by him is estimated by his secretary at 15 crores of rupees in cash, besides vast quantities of jewels and other things, including the famous Peacock Throne and the Koh-i-Noor diamond. The grand total is computed by the author of *Bayan* at 80 crores. He was assassinated in June 1747. (*Bayan*, 2-21 ; Anand Ram, 34 ; Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, 317-20 ; *Jahan Kusha*; 1-22 ; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 164-166, 357; Gupta, *Studies in Later Mughal History of the Panjab*, 29, 33, 157, 158.)

* * *

Jaipur State archives do not possess the Sanskrit correspondence between Baji Rao I and Sawai Jai S. Evidently the Deccani Brahman who printed it got it from some Pandit's house in Jaipur.

* * *

Mr. Kincaid, a Judge of the Bombay High Court, has in a published writing, remarked that your *Riyasat* is as informing and interesting as Voltaire's "*Century of Louis XIV*." Mr. H. Beveridge, a Judge of the Calcutta High Court, in a learned review published in England, has called me "the Bengali Gibbon". Neither of these critics was personally know to us; we never wrote or spoke to them. Is it our fault that they gave us this high praise, and gave it in the most public manner possible ?

* * *

You seem to be fretting over your title without any reason whatever. I have met with many Ray Bahadurs among my acquaintances who are the sweetest men in our society, without the least touch of pride. I did not feel the least difference (when I was myself untitled) in meeting them. Why then should you feel diffidence ? It is a great point scored by us authors that Govt. have gazetted you as "historian." This is the first time they have recognised a historian qua historian. The great Bankim Chandra was gazetted a Ray Bahadur as a "Deputy Collector & Magistrate," as if he were just another of the 250 Deputy Magistrates then in Bengal !

* * *

I am sorry to hear of your illness. Will it put an end to our excursions, for I cannot now travel alone ? Last winter you had urged me to arrange for you a prolonged North Indian tour, as we had done the Deccan too often. Especially, you have not seen Panipat yet. However, everything must give way to considerations of your health, now that you are above 72 and have passed through a life of hardship and strenuous labour from year's end to year's end.

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[1] Born at Ghazni on 16 August 1702 Prince Roshan Akhtar was proclaimed the Emperor under the title of Muhammad Shah on 28 September 1719. Before his accession he had been in confinement in the palace for seven years and so had received no education or training in the art of government. He was extremely handsome, of a strong and splendid build, and possessed natural intelligence and foresight. But actuated by his youthful passions folly and pride, he resigned himself to frivolous pursuits and the company of wicked and mean characters. He utterly neglected the administration of the kingdom and so everything went to rack and ruin. He died in 1748. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, I, 3-6, 8, 9 ; Irvine, Later Mughals, II, 1-2 ; Gupta, *Studies in Later Mughal History of the Panjab*, 16-17.)

P. S. By the way, is गंगा जल निर्मल an exact equivalent of गंगा भागीरथी and applicable to widows only, or can it be addressed to a woman, whose husband is alive ? I have a horrible suspicion that I have made a blunder here.

Kalighat P. O.,
Calcutta,
16 Nov. 1940.

After finishing my 3rd lecture at the Bombay University on the 6th Dec. (or the 7th, if the Ragistrar insists on the latter date), we board the Madras Mail at 10 P. M. that very night and reach Madras in the morning of the third day. Then the Indo-Ceylon Express, leaving Madras Central at 10. 30 A.M., will take us to Trichi at 10 P. M., and Tanjore is 31 miles further east on the same line. We shall have to comb the entire Tanjore district and not merely the district head-quarters town, and that means that we must reserve seven clear days for this purpose. As Tanjore is a far more promising field than Bangalore, I propose that we exhaust it in this trip, even if we have to drop Bangalore, for lack of time, on our way back. However, if we are disappointed in our expectations in Tanjore, we may return from that town early enough to pass a couple of days at Bangalore. I am writing to Dr. Ghose at the Institute. Your proposed No. 7 route will not do. First, it will compel us to make two detours, viz (*a*) via Nagpur and (*b*) via Dhanuskodi and the slow Hubli line, on our way back, while saving time is an all important consideration with us, in view of both of us being required at Baroda on the 20th at the latest.......

P. 255, Lansdowne R. Extension,
Kalighat P. O.,
Calcutta,
13th January, 1941.

The Nagpur Mané-Ingle papers relate solely to a petty *jagir* granted by the Mughal subahdar of Berar, at Amrapur, pargana Mehkar (Berar) to a captain of the Bhonsle family in 1657 A.D. and the quarrels about the succession to it in 1694. This grantee had no connection with the

Tanjore Bhonsles nor with the late dynasty of Nagpur. Thus, you see, once again, that the world is full of illusions मायामय इदम् जगत् ।

Kalighat P. O.,
Calcutta,
30th January, 1941.

About twelve days ago I posted a letter to Dighe, addressed "Phanse Block, Sivajinagar, Poona", containing my English translation of two Persian letters of Asaf Jah I relating to the Marathas. I asked him to type these and send one copy to you and one copy to me, and annex a third copy to his thesis.......

P. 255, Lansdowne R Extension,
Kalighat P.O.,
Calcutta,
4th March 1941.

The itinerary of Baji Rao's tour in Rajputana in 1736 has not been printed by Vad, nor by you in SPD, xxx. Evidently it is missing among the Peshwa Govt. records. If so, the Rajput source is our only recourse. Jaipur archives contain exact records of date and place, but it will require a fresh search among their overwhelming mass of papers, and I finished my *History of Jaipur* and delivered the ms to the Jaipur Darbar six months ago. I am, however, now writing to their record-keeper.

The conjectural date 15 Feb. 1736 given by me in *Fall* vol I must be rejected in favour of 3rd March 1736, which we get from the Marathi sources cited by you. But all the other details given by the *Vamsha Bhaskar* stand.

This work states that after leaving Udaipur [Baji] Rao went to Nathdwara[1] (due north), then to Jahazpur[2] (n.e) and Kekri[3] and finally to Kishangarh[4] territory, at Bhamola[5], where the interview with Sawai Jai S.

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[1] The town of Nathwada or Nathdwara is situated on the right bank of the Banas 22 miles north of Udaipur in Rajasthan. Possessing the original image of Lord Krishna Nathwada has one of the most famous shrines of the Vaishnavites. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, I, 146 ; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, X, 240.)

[2] The town of Jahazpur is 25 miles north-west of Bundi in Rajasthan. There is a fort built on an isolated hill. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, I, 146 ; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, VII, 45.)

[3] Kekri is a town in Rajasthan, 50 miles south-east of Ajmer.

[4] The town of Kishangarh is 21 miles north-east of Nasirabad and 15 miles north-east of Ajmer in Rajasthan. The town and its fort are built on the bank of a small lake called Gundolao. In the centre of this lake is Muhkum Bilas or Maharaja's summer garden. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, VIII, 223.)

[5] Bhamola is 17 miles south-east of Kishangarh, and 30 miles east of Ajmer. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, I, 146.)

took place, and that from this point the Peshwa returned directly to the Deccan via Bundi and Begham[1] (in Mewar.) The note on p. 263 of *Fall*, vol I must be discarded.

* * *

It is distinctly stated in the *Vamsha Bh*, and we can readily believe it, that though Baji Rao entered Rajputana at the invitation of Jai S, yet when J.S. heard that the Peshwa was marching to his territory, lest the Maratha soldiery should molest and rob his subjects, he hastened southwards to his frontier and met Baji Rao at Bhamola, just beyond his own boundary, and induced him to return thence.

Kalighat P.O.,
4th March 1941.

Please read (or get copied) the full account of Malcolm's visit to Baji Rao in his camp at Keiri village on 1 June 1818, in the course of which the latter said, "I had once three friends &c." (and not in the letter of 16th May.) This account runs from p. 244 to 247 in Vol II of Kaye's *Life and Correspondence of Major Genl. Sir John Malcolm* (London, 1856.)

Kalighat,
24. 3. 41

(5) Jai Singh I. was born Asharh Bad 1, V. S. 1668=if Nija Asharh then, 15 July 1611. But Sawai Jai S. II (the astronomer &c.) was born on 4 Nov. 1688, succeeded to the Raj on 3 Feb. 1700. I have a long chapter on his *ashwamedh* and observatory.

Calcutta,
22 July 1941.

You must not think of visiting Panipat, because it will mean three miles trudging through ploughed fields and sandy hollows (former water channels) each way, on foot, if we are to reach the battlefield, and in August there is likely to be some water in the fields, —at least impassable mud at many places.

Rashbehari Avenue P. O.,
Calcutta,
8-9-41.

Half the dress articles and all the papers (none valuable) in my lost suit case have been recovered in a station village on the railway line, the name of which I noted immediately after waking and supplied to the Govt. Railway Police at Gaya. I was profoundly asleep at the time, 2-30 A.M., that the intruder came in and departed, and hence he had no occasion to use any dagger that he may have carried. But the loss of all my dress gave me much trouble after arrival at Dehra Dun.[1]......

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[1] The town of Begun or Beghum is 53 miles south-west of Kotah and 22 miles east of Chittor in Rajasthan.

R. B. Avenue P.O.,
Calcutta,
17 Sept. 1941.

We are both of us turned of 70, and you had recently a severe attack. And we have, therefore, sadly to discontinue our old pleasant practice of roving from place to place—which are romantic in name only but yield absolutely no historical material at present. No more for us Kanakgiri and Tanjore and similar delusive attractions.

* * *

I also propose to revisit Poona and Bombay this time and expedite the concluding stage of the Residency Corrsp. publication and smooth away (if I can) the official difficulties in the path of a new edn of the S.P. Daftar. Who knows if this will not be my last visit to those two places? And, in addition, I should like to pass a quiet week at Kamshet; —I have the fondest memory of last year's Christmas week which I spent at Kamshet and which fully refreshed me after the hectic month of long distance railway travel, lecturing and touring that had gone before.

From Kamshet we can take buses at Talegaon and visit Junnar[2], an old dream of mine. Nasik and Trimbak[3] are, I fear, hardly worth a visit except for the scenery, and you must not be exposed to avoidable worry and knocking about in trains and hotels which disturb our sleep.

---

[1] The town of Dehra Dun is situated at a height of 2300 feet aobve the sea-level, in the centre of a hill valley below Mussoorie. Built by Guru Ram Rai, whose temple is still there, the town is the head-quarters of the district of Dehra Dun in U. P. There is a cantonment and it is a great centre of military education and forest research. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 168-76.)

[2] Junnar is the head-quarters of the sub-division of the same name in the Poona District. Formerly it was known for the paper manufacture. There is a fort which was built by Malik-ul-Tajjar in 1436. The fort of Shivner where Shivaji was born, is half a mile from this town. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, VII, 246.)

[3] Trimbak or Triyambak is 20 miles south-west of Nasik in the Bombay State. It has a fort built on a hill at a height of 4,248 feet. It is a place of Hindu pilgrimage and a fair is held there in honour of Trimbakeshwar Mahadev. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XIII, 366.)

R. B. Avenue P O.,
Calcutta,
16th Oct. 1941.

Please refer to the Proceedings Volume of the Baroda Comn. for Yeotmal Y.K. Deshpande's paper on the records found at Balapur in Berar (20 m. by bus from Akola stn)[.] These records had been mentioned to me more than ten years ago as worth examination. Though Deshpande's report is quite meagre and vague,—owing to his ignorance of Persian,—I am determined to visit Balapur this year and spend a week there if necessary in examining the various collections in the hands of Muslim jagirdars.

* * *

From Mysore, I propose to revisit Hyderabad (where the private Persian library will have to be thoroughly searched, say 3 days)......Then we move to Madras, where after a few days we part company for Calcutta and Kamshet respectively.

P. 255, Lansdowne Rd Ext.,
R.B. Avenue P.O.,
Calcutta,
8th Decr 1941.

But Commission or no Commission, if the condition of Calcutta does not detain me in Bengal,—and I am still very optimistic about the result of Japan's belated plunge into the European blood-bath,—I shall visit Balapur, Bombay and Haidarabad.[1] In the event of my having to go to Mysore for the Commission,—on which point no official decision has been yet made, nor probably will be made for some weeks to come, till the Pacific sky clears again,—my programme after Hyderabad[2] will have to be modified ; but this we can do after we have met together in Bombay.

* * *

I have passed through a long spell of idleness, which robbed me of nearly eight months of my life, and I am looking forward to tackling the 4th vol. of my *Fall of the Mughal Empire* (1789-1803) in earnest next February, on my return from the tour.........

R. B. Avenue, P. O.,
Calcutta,
28th Decr 1941.

We are living here in great uncertainty about the future of this

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[1-2.] These are the actual spellings given in the original letter.

town. Though I wish to cling to my library to the last moment possible—as migration elsewhere would enforce idleness on me,.........

* * *

The Jumna has shifted 1½ miles eastwards since the battle of Panipat was fought, so that the site of Bararighat[1] is now a village 1½ miles away from the river bank !

R. B. Avenue P. O.,
Calcutta,
9th Jany 1942.

Your letter of the 3rd reached me on the 6th instant. I, too, badly feel the omission of our annual meeting and tour together. It is a full year since I had my last outing, and this one year's stay in one place has left me jaded and inert,—quite apart from my war-anxieties. No news has come to me about the Commission !

* * *

If things do not grow worse in Bengal, I wish to leave my family here and pass a month with you in February or March next. A decisive naval battle in the Pacific is expected within 20 days from now, and the air-warfare in Malay is turning in favour of the English—but just turning. I wait with hope.

* * *

If Calcutta after 3 or 4 weeks from now is found to be safe from all reasonable risk of bombing, you should run down here with गांगु माइ for a month. There is a room in this my new house, which is spoken of by all as "Sardesai's room", and a vegetarian kitchen also will be provided.

* * *

My *Akbar* will be ready in type script in a month's time, unless I am driven out of Calcutta,—the chapters will be sent to you in advance. The *Jaipur History* that I worte with so much labour for two years, will never be published in my lifetime, as the Maharajah can think of nothing except the war. Its contents are confidential,—at least, the property of that Government. Banarasi Prasad Saksena's *Shah Jahan* can be consulted, but a better book on that Emperor is badly wanted.

Calcutta,
28-2-42.

My son-in-law Major S. Ghose (D. A. A. G. to the 3rd Indian Corps under General Heath) is among the 72,000 prisoners of war at Singapur, and it will be 3 months before we can first communicate with him through the International Red Cross of Geneva.

---

[1] Barari is a village 10 miles north of Delhi situated on the western bank of the Jamuna, hence the Ghat got its name.

Calcutta,
3rd March 1942.

After drawing the outline of the map (or obliterating the names with bits of white paper) cut the names of places out of old newspapers or old Railway time-tables and paste each such printed name on its appropriate place. This will make the map look exactly like the fine productions of the Surveyor-General's Office.

1, Circular Road,
Dehra Dun,
29th June 1942.

I have received from Dhavle your *Baji Rao*. It marks a marvellous advance in our knowledge of the period and the man since the first edition which was issued 20 years ago. Not merely in the piling up and orderly arrangement of an infinite number of small facts and short sayings, but more than anything else, in the fusing all these materials together into a lifelike picture of the man and his age, you show your literary skill. Everything is explained by its hidden root cause (*e. g.*, Khanderao Dabhade's old age, p. १७७) ; every character is lit up in all the traits that together form a composite human being (*e. g.*, Brahmendra Swami[1] p. 280). It deserves publication in English. Come to Calcutta in October next and we shall arrange it.........

1, Circular Road,
Dehra Dun,
19th Aug. 1942.

This is the news privately received from Jaipur today..........

R. B. Sardesai's letter along with Sarkar's proposals had been sent by H. H. to the Prime Minister Sir Mirza Md. Ismail, who then consulted R. B. Pandit Amarnath Atal. The Pandit reported that all historical papers available in the Jaipur archives till the death of S. Jai Singh in 1743 A.D., should be published ; but the papers relating to the Maratha period after 1743 should not be published, because many of them are objectionable from the Raj point of view. After the demise of S. Jai S., Jaipur forces were defeated in many battles, and the Jaipur Maharajahs had to pay tribute to the Marathas. Such papers should not be published by the Jaipur Govt. It would not be advisable to publish a few selected papers only.

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[1] Brahmendra Swami was revered in the Maharashtra as a saint of great spiritual powers. He was Raja Shahu's *guru* and influenced much the politics of the time. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 135, 136, 140, 141, 191.)

In short the first series, proposed by Sir J. Sarkar in his typed letter, has been recommended for publication.

1, Circular Road,
Dehra Dun,
24th Aug. 1942.

Immediately after Mahadji Sindhia's death, a consultation was held by the Peshwa, and Rajaram Bhau then went from Poona to Daulat Rao[1], and "communicated to Apa Chitnis the declarations that had been made by Nana Hary Pandit,[2] Baloo Tatya and Bhau Farnis were present." Now, does not Nana here mean the famous Nana Fadnis ? If so how to take Hari Pandit ? Does he stand for a courtier of Daulat Rao, or some Hari Pandit of the Peshwa's Court ? Hari was no part of N. F.'s name.

Why is Baloo often called Baloo Mirza[3] in the English records ? It is not a clerical error.

Calcutta,
23rd Dec. 1942.

This is to inform you that though three successive nights have passed, no danger or loss has come within three miles of our house, and the Bengalis of the middle class in the town are free from panic and have no desire to evacuate. Don't believe in the bazar rumours, not needlessly feel anxious about my safety. I mean to stay here as long as I can, taking the necessary precautions. The defence guns were quite active last night, but the enemy (a few in number) went back very quickly after doing some haphazard work.

---

[1] Daulat Rao Sindhia was the adopted son of Mahadji Sindhia. He was born in 1780 and was the son of Mahadji's cousin Anand Rao. He became a close associate of Baji Rao II, the last Peshwa. Both the young men being inexperienced and immoral were incapable of handling men and matters and thus brought the downfall of the Maratha Kingdom. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, III, 264, 320, 331, 333-36, 356-57, 395, 401.)

[2] "Hary Pandit is doubtless Haripant Phadke, Nana Fadnis's, right hand man." (G.S.S. to J.N.S. dated 30-8-42.)

[3] "Baloo Mirza appears to be Baloba Tatya Pagnis." (See G. S. S. to J. N. S. dated 30-8-42.) Baloba Tatya Pagnis became the chief counsellor of Daulat Rao Sindhia after Jivba Dada Bakhshi's death in January 1796. He was a man of unrivalled uprightness and espoused the cause of Mahadji's widows and raised the standard of revolt against Daulat Rao Sindhia's ill-treatment towards them. In consequence he was arrested by Daulat Rao Sindhia and he died in prison on 1 November 1800. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, III, 315, 323, 338, 355-56 ; Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, IV, 135, 142.)

The date of the fall of Satara[1] in Aurangzib's reign given in my book is absolutely correct, being based on day to day diary of the time.

P. 255, Lansdowne Rd.,
Rashbehari Avenue P.O.,
Calcutta.
29th January, 1943.

Chanda Sahib[2] was confined in a fort near Satara. What was that fort?

Chanda's son, Raja Sahib, went to Satara after Haider Ali's death in 1783. Any Marathi references to this?

* * *

In fact, the surest means of acquiring a good style is (1) to read aloud the best English prose—avoiding ornate and involved authors, such as Dr. Johnson and Macaulay,—for half an hour every morning, (2) to avoid trashy authors, except when it is necessary to pick facts out of them, and (3) to pause and revise frequently in the course of our own writing. This is the method that has borne most fruit with me, besides certain advantages that I had in my College life.

You write too long and too diffusely, and hence your style is bound to suffer. I compress as much as I can, and hence I have the time to revise and polish my words, or rather, as I meditate before writing, the words flow well chosen out of my pen. This would have been impossible if I had to write 50 or 60 foolscap folios of English prose everyday.

Please remember that the elements of a good prose style include not merely the choice of apt phrases, but also the judicious and most effective marshalling of the facts, the order of development of the parts of the theme or proposition you intend to prove, and the proper proportion in the length of the different parts. The true difficulty is to decide what to omit and what to keep, because we cannot give every fact; some must go out, probably many. "The half is better than the whole", is a

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[1] The fort of Satara fell on 21 April 1700. It was, however, recaptured by the Marathas in 1704.

[2] Husain Dost Khan, better known as Chanda Sahib, was the son-in-law of Nawab Dost Ali, the Mughal Governor of Karnatak. His administrative acumen, reforming zeal and organisation of the army on the European model increased his power and acting under orders of Nawab Dost Ali he captured Trichinopoly in 1736. After the fall of his patron Nawab Dost Ali, in 1740, he began to aspire for the Nawabship, but was captured by the Marathas. He effected his escape in 1748, but was murdered on 3 June 1752. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 252-57, 326.)

Greek adage, which Macaulay admires. However, I shall talk this great subject of style fully over with you when we meet together again. It is only long practice which will enable you to achieve success in view of the fact that you have devoted your long life to the development of an admirable Marathi style in writing and speaking and taken to the totally alien element of English prose only in the evening of your day on earth. Roget can be of use when we are stuck for a suitable word, but can give us no help in mastering a style.

P. 255, Lansdowne Road,
Calcutta,
1st March, 1943, night.

We have been deeply grieved to learn of the passing away of Gangu Mai[1], from your letter received this evening. It is so unexpected and shocking. No doubt, she had completed the normal span of human life, three score years and ten ; but then she had no organic disease to alarm us about her.

She has met with an end that would be coveted by all Hindu wives : she bore sons to her husband, and she had died with the vermilion mark on her forehead uneffaced. Looked at from the outside, her life 'should have been happy : her husband had placed her above want ; she was the consort of a man whose name 'is honoured in every land where modern Indian history is read or talked of, and he has won the admiration and love of hundreds of research workers,—outside Maharashtra, even more within it,—who venerate him as a sure guide and constant friend, she has shared the joy of his recognition by Government and by more Universities than one ; her charity made her home a welcome refuge to many ; and she has known the joys of motherhood.

But, alas ! she has also known sorrow, the deepest sorrow which neither wealth nor fame can drown and which the sympathy of friends can only moderate. Death had robbed her of all her darlings. Thenceforth her one task on earth, her sole motive of existence, was to support and cheer you and to help you to bear up by halving your unforgettable sorrow with you. I have always felt sure that it was this silent strength of will and devotion to a wife's duty, which kept her up for the eighteen years after Shyamakant's departure ; it is this which made her weak emaciated body last for 70 years and assured her recovery from diabetes—which, I may now frankly tell you, I had feared to be incurable in one of her age and vegetarian diet. My wife and I feel certain that her last thoughts were regret at leaving you lonely and with your last remaining tie to life snapped by her death.

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[1] Ganga Bai was the eldest daughter of Moreshwar Vaman Kirtane, the Headmaster of Government High School, Ratnagiri, and was married to Sardesai in 1884. (*Sardesai Commemoration Vol.*, 293-4.)

And now you are left truly alone; though you have two devoted brothers, who are more to you than sons are to most parents, yet they cannot exactly replace Mai while she was with you, after your retirement broken-hearted to Kamshet in 1925, you did no doubt forget your sorrows and the world's injustice by drowning yourself among the records of past ages. But this oblivion was for a time only; and when reaction from literary work came, you could always feel sure of relief by coming to her side. Your two lives had, through many years, been so blended together that you were as one in your meals, sleep, talk and (earlier) travels. Rabindranath Tagore, in referring to his wife, who had died 33 years before him, once remarked, "The only one to whom I could speak about everything, everything [?], is no more"—and then lapsed into a moody silence.

I am thinking only about your future days on earch [earth] which now cannot be many. Though your health is exceptionally good and your habits austere in their simplicity, yet the mind is bound to react on the body. You cannot live except among your books and marvellously full and well arranged mass of historical papers, and you cannot endure a big city like Bombay. And yet, how will you bear life at Kamshet and who will look after you there henceforth?

I wished to go and bear your company for a month or so now, but my own domestic life is disturbed. A son-in-law missing for over a year in the war, a grown-up daughter still to marry, my second son, Satyen, who used to live with me, has gone to undertake civil duties in connection with the army at Bangalore, and worst of all, four weeks ago, I had the first touch of sciatic pain (in the nerve of the right hip bone) which has spread to my right leg and reduced my walking power. I dare not run or take any risk of straining this leg, though the doctors do not find any constitutional defect in me. However, in about ten days I shall learn where Satyen is going to be posted, and then I may join you at Kamshet or Bombay, as you may choose for your residence.

Lady Sarkar is mourning the loss of a personal friend and wishes that it had been possible to remove Mai to Bombay for superior medical treatment. But I do not share any regret on this latter account; Mai had no vitality left in her, it was only her will-power that had made her live after November 1925, and that power was now run out, like the spring of a watch when 30 or 36 hours are over. The latest clinical contrivances, like blood-transfusion and oxygen-inhalation. would have merely prolonged her suffering. The inevitable has come and man can only bow to the will of his Creator.

मरणं प्रकृतिः शरीरिणां विकृतिर्जीवितमुच्यते बुधैः ।

Let Aba or Arabind reply to me.

Calcutta,
9th March 1943, night.

प्रतिकार-विधानमायुषः सति
शेषे हि फलाय कल्पते ।

You are left to God and your own disciplined heart.

Calcutta,
18-6-43

I have worked through 1200 pages of Persian *akhbarat* (Poona 1794 and 1795) giving full details of (1) Mahadji's illness, treatment, diet and death [,] (2) Ahalya Bai's same and (3) Madho Rao Narayan's[1] fatal fall, besides the extremely detailed and tiresome reports of N. Fadnis's plans, intrigues and speeches during the eventful period preceding Baji Rao II's installation, and a daily report of the entire Kharda[2] campaign surpassing in length that given in Dighe's volume of the P.R.C.[3]

The English translation of the *Maasir-ul-ulama* [Umara] covers only the letters A to L (840 pages), price Rs 10 only. It is worth buying, though the second volume M-Z will probably take 5 years to be issued, if at all ; it is not yet ready even in ms.

1, Circular Road,
Dehra Dun,
8th July 1943.

The Vaidya family of the wakils of the Nagpur Bhonsles at Puna, have recently discovered over a thousand Modi sheets of papers 1743-1750, many of which are of great interest. Mons. Lehuraux got into touch with them through Mrs. Nagarkar (?), the wife of a teacher in the Shivaji

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[1] Madhav Rao Narayan was born on 18 April 1774. He became the Peshwa in 1783 when Raghunath Dada surrendered himself and recognised him as the rightful Peshwa. He died of an accidental fall from the balcony of his palace on 27 October 1795. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, III, 45, 132, 173, 233-36, 239-40, 257-59, 281-86, 303-8 ; Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, IV, 134.)

[2] Kharda or Khardla is 56 miles south-east of Ahmadnagar in the Jankher sub-division of the Ahmadnagar District in Bombay. The ruins of the palace of Nimbalkar, a noble of the Nizam . and a fort are still found there. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, VIII, 166-67.)

[3] *Poona Residency Correspondence,*

Mily School. The lady is writing a thesis (in French) for the doctorate of the Bombay Univy.

P. 252 Lake Terrace (new name given to our str. by the Municipality),
Rashbehari Avenue P.O.,
Calcutta,
11 Aug 1943.

Maratha penetration into the Panjab in 1758.—The two letters written by Holkar's diwan from the Panjab, given in Chandrachud Daftar, were read and noted by me long ago ; they do not support the claims that (1) the Maratha invaders ever crossed the Chenab, the Jhelum[1] and the Indus—three big rivers, (2) they occupied the ferry at Attock[2] town, or (3) they reached Peshawar[3] city. Look at the map of the Panjab and measure the distances from Lahore and the time at the disposal of the Maratha garrison. The two letters simply mean that Holkar's agents had made arrangements (*bandobast*) for the revenue of Attock-Multan, and there is no suggestion that they had reached the city of Attock—still less that they had crossed the violent Indus river at Attock and reached Peshawar at the mouth of the Khyber Pass,[4]—so many hundred miles from their insecure base at Lahore. Where is Peshawar mentioned as occupied by a Maratha garrison ? Where is Peshawar mentioned as occupied by a Maratha garrison ? Not certainly in any Modi letter. If in a Persian

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[1] Jehlum is an important town in West Pakistan situated on the right bank of the Jehlum.

[2] Attock is situated slightly below the confluence of the rivers Indus and Kabul and is noted for its strong fort which is said to have been built by Akbar in 1581 to protect his Empire against the invasion of Hakim Mirza. Ranjit Singh conquered it in 1812 and later on it passed into the hands of the British. (Burnes, *Travels*, I. 79-80 ; Hugel, 215-17 ; *Imperial Gazetteer, Punjab*, I, 196 ; II, 183 ;*Rawalpindi Gazetteer* (1883-84), 124.)

[3] Peshawar is situated about 13 or 14 miles east of the entrance of Khyber Pass. The city was commanded by a mud fort to the north-west. The fort was built by the Sikhs on the ruins of the Bala Hissar or state residence of the Durranis which was destroyed by the Sikhs after the battle of Nowshehra. Orchards abound everywhere and dates, figs, grapes, melons, oranges, etc. are abundant. (*Imperial Gazetteer, N. W. F. Province*, 164-5 ; *Peshawar Gazetteer* (1897-8), 361-3 ; *N.W.F.P. Gazetteer*, 149 ; *Masson*, I, 126 ; *Jaffar*, 119, 123-24.)

[4] The Khyber Pass like Kurram and Gomal passes is an important military route leading from Afghanistan into the Peshawar District of the West Pakistan. The pass goes along the bed of a rushing stream and is subject to sudden floods. It has played a great role in shaping the history of India. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, VIII, 123-127.)

akhbarat, I ought to examine it before accepting this flat contradiction of the eye-witness Miskin's[1] statement.

In Mughal geography a district is named by joining two cities in it together, such as Vani-Dindori,[2] Sultanpur[3]-Nandurbar,[4] Bang (=Deccan) -Sylhet, &c. In the Chandrachud letter Attock-Multan means the province from Attock to Multan and not these two cities. Now, conquerors and newly appointed subahdars, on reaching the frontier of their province were waited upon by the agents of the leading *zamindars* and tax-collectors of the province, who offered presents and made agreements for payment of the moneys due from them. This is exactly what happened to Chandrachud and Sindhia when they reached the eastern bank of the Chenab (nearest to Lahore.) But whether the money was actually paid is another question; and it was certainly not paid if no strong Marathi garrison occupied Attock for some months—and of that there is no proof. Indeed, from the tone of the letters, it is a legitimate inference that only a small sum was collected by the Marathas from the land and the whole of it was swallowed up by the pay of the troops, so that Sindhia and Holkar were really squabbling over a shadow—an empty purse.

What are the exact words in Persian in the *akhbarat* which say that Maratha soldiers—and not Adina Beg[5]—occupied Peshawar and Attock for some months? The writer of it, and its date?

* * *

An English version of the *Marathi Riyasat*.—This I had urged you years ago to produce, and I am glad that you have at least taken it in hand and found a co-adjutor with a very facile pen (in English) in the person of Prof. Sharma. Dr. Pawar is also very good, but he is too far away and too busy with the Sandur (and Kolhapur ?) histories.

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[1] Tahmas Khan Miskin lived in Lahore as a personal attendant of Muin-ul-Mulk, the Viceroy of the Panjab from 1748 to 1753, and later of his wife, the Mughlani Begam, 1753 to 1758. He gives a graphic and vivid account of the Maratha invasion of the Panjab in 1758. (Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, I, 113—9.)

[2] Vani-Dindori or North Nasik. (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, 230.)

[3] Sultanpur Nandurbar was the most important military charge (*faujdari*) in the Mughal scheme of the defence of the empire. Sultanpur and Nandurbar are identified separately. (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, V, 139.)

[4] The town of Nandurbar is situated 32 miles north-west of Dhulia in the District of Khandesh, Bombay. It was founded by Nand Gauli and contains many old mosques as it fell into the hands of the Muslim rulers later on. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, X, 194.)

[5] Adina Beg was the Mughal Governor of the Jullundur Doab. He was made the Viceroy of the Panjab by the Marathas in May 1758 when they subjugated the Panjab; but he died on 16 September 1758. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II, 64-68, 76-77; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 386, 399, 401; Gupta, *Studies in Later Mughal History of the Panjab*, 56-108.)

(A) Let the book be a good deal compressed in its English form, as readers outside Maharashtra will not relish the overwhelming mass of personal and place names and details of the Marathi original in 8 volumes.

(B) Throw discussions and criticism of sources into appendices, —and, where short, into footnotes,—and keep the text clearly readable and smooth flowing.

(C) Use oriental words very sparingly, and in every case give the English meaning first and then the oriental term within brackets.

(D) Insert some chapters on literature, saints, economic conditions, social manners &c, which you gave in the first edition of the *Mar. Riyasat*, but excluded from the later editions. These are absolutely necessary in the English version, which ought to have an world-appeal.

P. 255 Lake Terrace (new name of our street),
Rash Behari Avenue P. O.,
Calcutta,
25th Aug. 1943, night.

You did well to organise that public discussion in Puna about the Maratha advance to Attock in 1758, and thus to bring hitherto unpublished records to light... when I wrote the *Fall*, Vol 2, in 1934, I used only such materials as were available to the public or in my private collection of unprinted mss, and no historian can possibly do more ... ... It is only the Persian *akhbarats* now made available to the public that show beyond doubt that portions of the armies of Holkar and Sindhia penetrated as far west as Peshawar, though for a few months only.

My sole interest is the discovery of truth from unassailable sources, and I am not so vain as to feel hurt if any statement in a book of mine is contradicted by later discovered (or published) sources. For, unless such continual supersession is welcomed, progress in human knowledge would be impossible.

It would be very interesting if we could have details for knowing whether the "silah-dars of Holkar and Sindhia" who reached Peshawar were Marathas by race, or Muslim mercenaries from North India enlisted in those chiefs' forces for we know that a large body of mercenary Mughlia troops were entertained by Mahadji, just as Jaswant Rao Holkar's mainstay was Amir Khan's[1] Muslim soldiers, but for whose stiffening help he would have been nowhere,—as Busawan Lal's biography of Amir Khan conclusively proves.

* * *

Food-stuffs of all kinds are available here, except that the breaches in the railways and consequent shortage of coal in Calcutta, have cut off our supply of dal, mangoes, and oilseeds from Bihar and the U. P. Also good ghee has doubled in price in one year. But locally grown vegetables and fish are plentiful. Good rice sells at Rs 92 a maund, and bad at Rs 32.

P. 255, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta,
3-11-43.

(1) Was Kumar Vikram a title given by Mahadji to Daulat Rao Sindhia about 1793 ? Or do you know any other person so called ? (2) Who was Sidhoji or Saddaji, described as Mahadji's wife's brother and an expert in Hindu medicine, whose dose of mercury in gold leaf killed Mahadji after Hakim Baqā Khan had been removed from the treatment of the patient (3) Kesar Bai[2] is described as the cleverest among the ladies (widows ?) of Mahadji Sindhia, and Daulat Rao frequently held long consultations with her on perplexing state questions. She rebuked him severely (1795) for pursuing childish sports like jackal-hunting near Hadapsar and kite flying, in the company of the Bir saint's grandson, a typical upstart and debauched Muslim youth. (4) Please send me a transcript of the letter in Bala Sahib's Vol III, referred to in your last post card. I probably dropped all his literary gifts at your house in order to lighten myself for the return to Bengal.

P. 255, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta,
22nd Novr. 1943, night.

When I met Mr. Ramanand Chatterji before his death, he told me with his last breath as far as I was concerned,—"I am happy to think that you regard me as your friend. I am going away, but my sons remain; please regard them with the same friendliness after me." After this, I am morally bound to support the *Modern Review* and the Bengali *Prabasi* with my pen.

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[1] Amir Khan Pathan was the close helpmate of Jaswant Rao Holkar. He was an ardent, bold and gallant soldier and served his master with loyalty and zeal. He deserted him in December 1817 when he accepted British protection and was made the Nawab of Tonk. (Sardesai. *New History of the Marathas,* III, 368, 429, 473, 480, 481 ; Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire,* IV, 168.)

[2] Kesari Bai was a morganatic wife of Mahadji Sindhia. She was a wise and good-natured lady. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, IV, 150.)

* * *

I had planned to sketch the rise of Mahadji in the 4th volume of my *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, because half of this volume will be dominated by his personality; and for this purpose I had five years ago made notes from the Marathi sources on his doings between 1762 and 1768. You have, necessarily gone deeper and more copiously into the subject, as the internal affairs of Maharashtra are not the concern of the historian of Delhi.

* * *

As for the history of the Marathas from 1400 to 1600, it should be borne in mind that after the fall of the Rashtrakuta and Yadava royal dynasties, there was no Maratha State before the rise of Shivaji, but only a Maratha people and some Maratha landlords (not sovereigns.) The activities of these latter are given fitfully in the history of the Bahmani empire. Full details in *Burhan-i-Maasir* (Eng. Trans by Major King in *Indian Antiquary*, 1890-98, printed in book form in 1900), and summary in *Ferishta* (Brigg's Transln). Try also Sewell's *A Forgotten Empire* and Danver's *Portuguese in India* (the latter very scanty and usually touching only the "Bouncello"—the Bhonsla of Vadi.)[1] But it is absolutely necessary for you to go patiently through the historical section of every volume of Campbell's *Bombay Gazetteer*, Ist ed. It is a mine of information and full notes should be taken from it.

India in the Fourteenth Century by Major (Hakluyt Society's vol.) will be quite useless to you in spite of its catching title.

I am now working on the battles of Merta 1790 and Lakheri[2] 1793.......

P. 255, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta,
1st Decr 1943.

Herewith my draft of the proposed Ujjain Inscription.......

This is the city of Ujjain, the capital of the historical land of Malwa. It is one of the seven holiest cities of India, the favourite seat of the

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[1] Vadi or Wari or Vari: See Savantvadi.

[2] "Lakheri is situated six miles south-west of Balwan which is three miles south-east of Indargarh Railway Station," in Rajasthan. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, IV, 89.)

Sanskrit Muse, the centre of Hindu Astronomical reckoning, and the most important depot of the trade between North India and our Western seaports. Here once reigned Vikramaditya the suzerain of Hindustan, the vanquisher of foreign invaders [शाकारि=enemy of the Scythians], the defender of the faith, the patron of learning and art, and the Hindu ideal of a perfect king. Here before the temple of Mahakal were acted the classical dramas of Kalidas[1] and Bhavabhuti,[2] and here were assembled the wit and wisdom of the Hindu age. Here once ruled Asoka the Maurya, Chashtana the Satrap, Chandragupta II the Gupta Emperor, and various later Rajput dynasties. In the evolution of history it at last became the capital of the Great Maharajah Mahadji Sindhia Alijah Bahadur, and now continues under the enlightened and prosperous rule of his royal descendants as a centre of banking and trade, industry and culture. 2000 Vikram Samvat.

* * *

P. 255, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta,
25th Decr. 1943.

The death of Khase Sahib Pawar is a great loss to India's true national interests. He had vision and driving power, and devoted himself heart and soul to one corner of the almost hopeless problem of Hindu union. How much more could he not have accomplished if he had been spared longer and given a longer field than Dewas Junior ! I fear his good undertakings—like all Indian enterprises,—after their founder's death will languish and then die out. The Rajput-Maratha union, if accomplished even in part, would have been the most eventful social reform in modern India. The time-spirit would have helped it on, if only there had been an engine of Khase Sahib's power to drive it forward. I have sent his portrait and a short note to the Jany No. of the *M.R.*

* * *

R. B. Avenue,
Calcutta,
22.1.44.

The Elphinstone vols 1818-1829, will put the crown and dome on the edifice of Maratha history that you have been constructing all your life.

* * *

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[1] Kalidas was the great Sanskrit poet and dramatist. He was one of the nine gems of Vikramaditya's Court. He is known as Indian Shakespeare.

[2] Bhavabhuti was the celebrated Sanskrit dramatist.

Your date for Lakheri in *Riyasat*, Uttar ii, is wrong. It should be 1 June 1793; the battle in Sep. 1792 was the skirmish at Surauli[1] fought on 8th Oct. 1792. See my "Battle of Lakheri" in the next Feby *Mod. Review*.......

P. 255, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta,
7th Feby 1944.

I had never cared for money or pleasure in life, but I could never imagine that my old age would be so burdened with cares and anxieties for no fault of mine.

* * *

I am now devoting all my spare time to the Benares volume on Akbar, and hope to complete my portion of it in three months at the latest. Depression of mind has greatly reduced my working capacity and judged outwardly I have become very lazy.

* * *

Dr. R.C. Majumdar has agreed to be the paid Head of the Indian History Dept[.] of the Bhawan. He is a highly competent scholar and a man of driving power, and I am sure that Institution will now do some really useful research unless Dr. R.C.M. is driven out by provincial jealousy or personal intrigue.

* * *

Let me have your criticism of my account of the diplomacy and tactics of the Battle of Lakheri (in the *Mod. Review*).

P. 255, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta,
20th Feby. 1944.
Posted 22nd Feby.

With the end of Madhav Rao[2] I's reign, the charted sea in Maratha history has been reached. What follows is less important (from an all-India point of view, because M. Sindhia 1785-93 was really not an offshoot of the Poona political power-house,—you know I differ from you there); and the coming years 1773-1802 are fully known from printed English (Parliamentary) papers. Your life's task may be truly said to have been now done; even the Uttar Bibhāg will require very few additions in a new edition. Happy is the man who has lived to complete his task.

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[1] *Surauli* is "situated in the region of Sawai Madhopur to the south of the River Banas" in Rajasthan. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, III, 246.)

[2] Madhav Rao was born to Peshwa Balaji Rao on 16 February 1745. He became the Peshwa at the age of sixteen in 1761 and died an untimely death on 18 November 1772. He was great both in war and administration. "He stands as an outstanding figure in Maratha history and as a brilliant ornament to his nation." (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 457, 465, 469, 471-72, 479, 481, 485, 487, 490, 492-3, 497, 509, 511, 515, 521, 527-29, 532-34, 539-41, 543-551; *Main Currents of Maratha History*, 151-54, 206, 215.)

P. 255, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta,
4th March 1944, night.

P.S. What are the value, contents and time range of the Hingane family papers recently found at Nasik? Anything new and important about Delhi affairs in the 18th century?......

P. 255, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta,
2nd May, 1944.

I have received from the Gulgule daftar transcripts of a dozen despatches on Lakheri which are extremely valuable and will compel me to rewrite my narrative of Surauli-Lakheri.

* * *

Mohan Singh's *Waqai-Holkar* is a Persian ms, 235 pages, foolscap quarto, 13 lines to the page. The English translation will cover 160 pages of the size of my *House of Shivaji.* The cost will be

(1)	Translator's fee	Rs. 235
(2)	Typing the ms for press	... 45
(3)	Printing 160 pages	... 240
(4)	Paper for 500 copies	... 75
(5)	Cover & printing & binding	... 100
	Total	... 695

The cost can be reduced by Rs. 60/- if we print 250 copies only. But the English transln. will have a good sale.

P. 255, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta,
9th May 1944, night.

I am arranging to get Mohan Singh's Waqai-Holkar (234 pp) translated into English......

* * *

Please read the *Bombay Gazetteer* ed. by Sir James Campbell, vol I, parts 1 and 2 very carefully for the ancient history and ethnology of Maharashtra (including Gujrat), otherwise your knowledge of the early history and culture of the province will not be complete ; smaller books cannot supply your real needs.

* * *

I have today finished reading Bhau Sahib's *Bakhar* again ; it is full of palpable untruths and bazar gossip. The Panipat *Bakhar* written in 1763 (against 1781 of the Bhau S.B) and by a competent secretary (and not a banker's clerk in Delhi) is more reliable, but even that is not fit to be placed against Kashi Raj[1] or Sayyid Nuruddin Husain.[2]

P. 255, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta,
19th May 1944.

The translation of Mohan Singh's Life of Jaswant Rao Holkar from the Persian has been started......

* * *

On going through *Mohan Singh* again, I find the book full of details of Jaswant Rao's[3] escape from confinement at Nagpur (as helped by Bhawani Shankar),[4] his movement step by step in Central India, his coronation at Maheshwar,[5] and his early battles and appointments. Much of this is unknown from Marathi sources. The book is certainly worth publishing ; I consider it a more useful history than Busawan Lal's *Amir Khan.*

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[1] Kashiraj Shiv Rao Pandit was the Maratha clerk of Shuja-ud-daulah. He was a Brahman by caste and served Shuja for a long time. He was present in Abdali's camp during the Third Battle of Panipat and wrote a narrative of the battle in Persian in 1780. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II, 320, 368-69.)

[2] Sayyid Nur-ud-din Hasan Khan was the close associate of Ghazi-ud-din, the younger. He was well-versed in Persian and wrote in that language the life of his friend's opponent, Najib-ud-daulah, in 1773. Afterwards he was employed by Sir Malet as his Secretary and Persian interpreter. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, III, 377, f. n., Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas* II, 199, 199 f. n.)

[3] Jaswant Rao effected his escape with the help of Bhawani Shankar, his faithful helpmate, on 9 April 1798. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, IV, 166.)

[4] Bhawani Shankar was the son of Rai Brijlal. He first met Jaswant Rao Holkar during his flight to Nagpur and became his faithful adherent. He 'acted as Jaswant Rao's guardian, prime minister, diplomatic agent, and lieutenant in campaigns.' (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, IV, 165-66.)

[5] Maheshwar is a town in the old Indore State, situated on the bank of the Narbada. It is the chief town of the Maheshwar District. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, IX, 171.)

P. 255, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta,
29-5-44.

"*Bombay in the days of George IV*" gives an account of the quarrels between the King's Judges at Bombay (Sir Ed. West and Sir...Grant) and the Governors Elphinstone and Malcolm for eight years, and is a valuable picture of European society in those days......

* * *

The *Bakhshi Bhavāni Shankar Yānchi Roznishi* in Marathi printed by the Indore State is neither a Diary (as you can see), nor the composition of the Bakhshi himself. I have established by a full comparison that the Persian ms. which the Indore Foreign office mistook for "the composition of Bhawani Shankar dictated to Lala Dilsukh Rai, on 30 Dec. 1810."—is really an incorrect and incomplete ms. of my *Waqai-i-Holkar*. The Indore copy had evidently lost the first few leaves, which in my ms. distinctly says "Bakhshi B. S. urged his friend Mohan Singh to write a Life of Jaswant R. H., saying that it was most eventful and such a life would be greatly admired by the learned." He also supplied Mohan S. with many additional facts from his personal knowledge. My ms. ends with "Here ends this book composed by Mohan Singh and copied by Khalifa Ahsanullah on 25 Sept 1808."........

* * *

The Marathi *Bh. S. Roznishi* (Indore 1926) is so full of gross errors (admitted in the प्रस्तावना) that it is dangerous to use it. Perron[1] appears as Osborne Sahib in one place and Beri Sahib in another, and wrong names of places are beyond count.

P. 255, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta,
4-7-44.

2. It would be a fatal mistake for you to depend on any point on the Shiva Digvijaya. It is opposed to the principles of historic evidence.

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[1] Perron, born in France in 1735, came to India in 1786 and after serving the Rana of Gohad, Raja of Bharatpur, and Begam Samru joined De Boigne's battalion in 1790 and rose to the chief command in 1796. He held this position till September 1803 when he deserted Sindhia's service. He amassed a huge fortune and "returned to France to exhibit, as a trophy of his infamy, the diamonds and the millions he stole from the miserable Sindhia whom he betrayed. The conduct of this traitor assured the English the supremacy of Hindustan." He died in 1834. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, III, 294, 351, 412-13 f. n., 412-14; Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, IV, 111-12, 124, 245-60.)

Borrow from the Bombay University (or any other College) Library, George's *Historical Evidence* and read it through. The legal principle is "False in one, false in all," and such witnesses are totally rejected.

3. In your estimate of Shivaji's character and work (or the Maratha race) why should you give a summary of the opinions of all previous writers or even of all famous writers ? It is only the most authoritative writers on this special subject whose opinions count, all the other writers are out of count. Even Justice Ranade labours under the amiable delusion that the great Maratha saints and Shivaji himself were members of the Prārthanā Samaj ! How very ridiculous. So, too, Acworth. Not a single one of his ballads for the period 1650-1690 is contemporary, not one of them is historical, several are demonstrably contrary to known contemporary (Persian or Marathi) evidence. Hence they have no value for the historian. But Acworth's estimate of character is good.

P. 255, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta,
23rd July, 1944.

I have been compelled, in the light of this new material, to scrap up my account of battle of Lakheri and even of the policy and diplomatic moves of the two chiefs. The battle did take place near the city of Lakheri and not six miles north of it in the Indargarh Pass.[1] The military moves are now known correctly and in minute detail, as on a chess board.

P. 255, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta,
25 Aug. 1944.

It was no trouble to me to revise your ms at Kamshet last April, the weather was delightful, the surroundings most refreshing and you write a very clear hand, however fast, to which I have been accustomed for 40 years. Hence, no need of apologising. My only sorrow was that I differed from you so fundamentally on the law of historical evidence ; you know I reject as spurious—the letter to Jai Singh, the Hindavi swaraj & bel bhandar of Jedhe, the Shiva Digvijay and most of the Chitnis

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[1] Indargarh is a town and railway station in Rajasthan and at this place there is a pass in the hills which runs north-east from Bundi to Indargarh side. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, IV, 89.)

Bakhar,—also the letters to Venkoji[1] after 1678, as contradicted by unimpeachable contemporary evidence...........

Jaswant Rao Halkar.—I have taken so much pains in myself translating the Persian work of Mohan Singh (miscalled Bhawani Shankar's Diary, though the substance of it was dictated by Bhawani Shankar, who had lost both his hands in a battle with the English and therefore could not write a line) and since doing the translation I have been so busy over the Gulgule Daftar and the Holkar Kaifiyat in picking out and piecing together all authenticated and dated details about Jaswant Rao, that I do not wish to print a mere translation of the text without very copious notes and corrections from other sources, which would double its size.......

* * *

Kot Putli is not "Kosali," a rly stn 17 m. n. w. of Rewari, but a very old town (or rather two, Kot and Putli, 42 m. s. s. w of Rewari, and 27 m. n. w. w. of Alwar city. 65 m. n. e. of Jaipur city, on the way to Rewari.

P. 255, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta,
16 Sept. 1944.

Springel's *History of the Marathas* (1782) seems to have been translated into English by Ketkar's wife's sister Fraulein Kuhn)—at least that is my dim recollection. Inquire. The book is worthless, because the writer has merely translated some catch-penny English brochure produced during the first Maratha War. He could not have had access to true sources. Read the French motto on Rajwade's first vol, "No document, no history."

P. 255, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta,
25th Sept 1944,

Thanks for the two books sent by you. *Shikhonkā Shah* is utter rubbish, based on pure fiction and born of ignorance and racial vanity. The despatches to Ahalya Bai and others are very valuable, indeed the most valuable of the series edited by Anant. I have tried to correct the dates (losing two days in thus groping in the dark) and had to differ from your inked suggestions.

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[1] Vyankoji was the half-brother of Shivaji. His mother was Tuka Bai Mohite. His greatest achievement was the conquest of Tanjore in January 1676. He crowned himself the king of Tanjore on 5 March 1676 and his beneficent administration and encouragement of agriculture made him very popular. He survived Shivaji by nearly five years. (Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 19, 101, 128, 281-82, 298-300, 303-8 ; *House of Shivaji*, 32 ; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 73, 74, 82, 153, 161, 182, 227-28, 237-43 ; *Main Currents of Maratha History*, 72.)

P. 255, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta,
28th Dec. 1944, night.

Your sad and worn-out face when you last shook hands with me before taking train for Kamshet with Bhau on the 26th Novr last, has been haunting my mind. You seemed to have been unexpectedly run down in health and spirit that afternoon, though there was no sign of such a decline during our previous four weeks' companionship. Tell me how you really feel. Don't travel alone, even for short runs on the railway.

I am now hard at work, thanks to the agreeable weather, though Calcutta air even in winter is far inferior to that of Kamshet or Patna.

P. 255, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta,
18th June, 1945, night.

I cannot leave Calcutta, though I have been half killed by the great damp heat and abnormal lack of rain. My enforced intellectual idleness, joined to anxiety about a daughter's marriage and other domestic worries, have taken all relish out of my existence. Were it not for my wife's sake, I could have gone to some obscure village like Kamshet and buried myself there for three months severing my connections with the outer world.........

P. 255, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta,
13th July, 1945.

On Sati in N. India

Consult :—
Hastings-*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* 13 volumes.
Macdonell & Keith-*Vedic Index*, 2 vols.
H. H. Wilson-*History of India and essays*
Heber-*Journal*, 3 vols
Ram Mohan Roy-*English Works (pamphlets)*

Of course Thompson's book will serve as a guide to a small extent. The information for the Muslim period is scattered through a variety of works and cannot be exactly specified.

The early English travellers, even up to 1825 are valuable.

P. 255, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta,
1st Oct. 1945.

1. There is no account of the battle of Laswari,[1] (1st Nov. 1803) in the Kota daftar, nor in Mohan Singh's *Waqai-i-Holkar* (the so-called Diary of Bakhshi Bhawani Shankar. You should use Thorn's *Memoir of the War in India*......and also "*War and Sport in India*" for the English version of the fighting.

2. Col. J. Collins,[2] the British Resident, was a small-sized but very pompous and proud man, always dressed in full formal robes. His temper made it impossible for Elphinstone to act as his Assistant. The future Duke of Wellington, when General Arthur Wellesley (1803) paid him a visit and was received with a salute of all the artillery in the Resident's camp! Wellesley told his A.D.C., capt. Blakiston that Collins reminded him of "the little monkey dressed for Bartholomew Fair". On account of his vanity and pomposity, he was familiarly known to other British officers as King Collins.

3. *Madār-ul-Maham* is an Arabic phrase meaning the centre of affairs (of State)=राज कारण केन्द्र. It is usually applied in Persian histories as a general designation of prime ministers. In the florid Persian letters from the Delhi Court to the Poona Darbar, Nana would be naturally styled *Madar-ul-maham*. I take it as an epithet or adjective rather than a personal title. It is an imperial title ; the Nizam had no right to confer titles.

P. 255, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta,
30th Decr. 1945, night.

(2) The inspiring passage in one of my writings which you are searching for, occurs in the course of my account of the Battle of Haldighat[3], published in the *Modern Review* in 1943 ; but it merely stresses the

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[1] "The village of Laswari (correctly called Naswari) crowns the steep northern bank of a rivulet named Baraki Nala, 20 miles due east of Alwar City." (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, IV, 297-98.)

[2] Collins John, was the Resident at Daulat Rao Sindhia's Court from 1795 to 1803 and at the Nawab of Oudh's Court from 1804 to 1807 when he died. (*Concise Dictionary of National Biography*, 264.)

[3] The bloody battle of Haldighat was fought between Akbar's generals Man Singh and Asaf Khan on the one hand and Maharana Pratap on the other hand at Haldighat pass in Rajasthan in 1576 in which Pratap was defeated.

ennobling character of the life of Rana Pratap of Mewar. You have evidently mixed it up with an extract from Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic* which I sent to you when returning your typescript by post; it tells us that the struggle of a small liberty-loving nation against a tyrannical empire is one of the most elevating examples of human endeavour..............

P. 255, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta,
29th April, 1946.

Received your last letter, which was penned under drooping spirit. Heaven knows, you have every earthly reason to be sad in the lonely evening of your day. But you had so long successfully made your will-power triumph over outward circumstances, that this letter has come to me as a surprise.

P. 255, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta,
Saturday, 11th May 1946.

This letter will reach you on your 82nd birthday. In one way it is a blessing to have merely lived for 81 years and a still greater happiness to have spent long years for the benefit of others. Neither of us have merely browsed for over three quarters of a century. But if by happiness is meant the enjoyment of comfort and pleasure, and freedom from mental agony, then neither you nor I have been happy. We have, no doubt, both reached heights of public fame, solid literary success, health, longevity and freedom from material want, that we could not have dreamt of in our childhood. Further, we have been supremely happy in our parents, brothers and above all in our two partners in life. But the evening of our day is clouded. You now stand alone, a lonely hermit on a lofty solitary cliff. I am engrossed by domestic worries, though both of us have been personally spared any breakdown of health.

On this day, only one thought floats uppermost in my mind: May what little life is still left to us, be spent in continuing that service to knowledge and the seekers of truth which has been the consolation and glory of our lives, regardless of material reward or public fame!

1, Circular Road,
Dehra Dun,
19th June 1946.

1. The style of a book is not the same as that of a popular lecture. Many things are said and a wordy diluted style is necessarily used when addressing a crowd of half-educated young men, who are not expected to ponder on the words afterwards, as the readers of a book studied in quiet do. Therefore, your platform oratory style of writing—and particularly your habit of putting into your history every thought, every patriotic reflection, every argument however trivial that rises in your mind while holding the pen for writing this history,—must be severely restrained and mercilessly curtailed, if your book is to share a better fate than Parasnis and Kincaid's 3 volumes,—which have succeeded in merely spoiling the market for better books.

* * *

4. True, interpretation must differ according to the writer's personality; but the basis of the conclusions must be unquestionable facts (as established by the latest research) and not mere conjecture. Moreover, the interpretation must be such as to convince an impartial outsider............

P. 255, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta,
7th Aug. 1946, night.

(*a*) The Karnal district (including Panipat) passed into British hands in 1804, and soon afterwards a land survey and revenue assessment was conducted by British officers. The records of this survey contain full information about land boundaries, ownership, water-courses and important historical events. These "settlement reports" were consulted (in ms) by Sir Denzil Ibbetson, I.C.S., when he wrote his Karnal District Gazetteer c. 1865,—a century after the battle, when the remains of the Maratha entrenchments were still there and Ibbetson noted them. (*b*) The ten miles between the Jamuna river and Panipat town are sometimes flooded, and when the floods recede, the face of the earth is greatly changed; hence a modern map of the Panipat sub-division is not helpful to us. I possess a large map dated 1854. (*c*) It was impossible for Ahmad Shah[1] to encamp long (more than a week) on the

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[1] Ahmad shah Abdali was the son of Zaman Shah and was born at Multan. Nadir

w. bank of the Jamuna. He soon moved far inland, to a place south (and not east) of Panipat town, and the name of this village is given in the records. I personally went there during my second visit to Panipat, (but naturally found no trace left now.)

Hence my location of Abdali's camp and the battlefield is correct.

About the timing of the battle, I am correct if the morning is taken to begin with the sunrise at the longitude of Panipat and not by the "Indian standard time." At all events, my statements as meaning "so many hours after daybreak" are quite correct and helpful to the reader.

I refuse to reply to the repetition of the old cry that I cannot translate Marathi words correctly ; the same that was tried against my *Shivaji.* Not a single example of my ignorance in this respect (except chop = छाप seal, not in Marathi but in an English Factory Record) has been cited in these 27 years (*Shivaji*, Ist ed. pub. in 1919)

The statement that I have not used some papers relating to (what? Bhau's previous movements and policy, or the actual battle of Jan. 1761 ?) Panipat given in Parasnis's *Itihas Sangraha* is another dishonest trick for influencing ignorant readers. I thoroughly combed Parasnis's 7 vols of the *Itihas Sangraha*, but found there no information either of importance or in addition to what I had found in other and more direct sources.) You know best what information on the Panipat battle the I. S. contains ; precious little.

It would be a waste of time to argue that camp fire gossip, written down by low-class *amlas* (*karkuns*), such as the Marathi Panipat *Bakhar* and Bhau Sahib's *Bakhar*, cannot be considered as authentic sources, or set side by side with the despatches and State papers such as Rajwade Vol 1, or Nuruddin and Kashi Rao's narratives. A modern European scholar would laugh to hear such a claim. But research in Maharashtra (and elsewhere too in India) is still primitive, and we cry out like Purandare or Apte, at every written scrap, "हे कागद फार महत्वाचे आहे,"—it may be a piece of closet-paper.

Shah captured him as a prisoner of war and being struck by his bright features, enlisted him as one of his personal slaves. Nadir Shah was deeply impressed by his bravery and generalship and appointed him the chief commander of his personal contingent of 6,000. After the assassination of Nadir Shah on 9 June 1747, the Afghan chiefs unanimously elected him their leader. He was one of the greatest conquerors who have ever appeared in Asia and was the first Afghan King who laid the foundation of the Afghan Kingdom in Afghanistan. He died at Murgha on 14 April 1772 and was buried in his favourite city of Kandahar. (Gupta, *Studies in Later Mughal History of the Panjab*, 156—230.)

And what a mass of irrelevant matter in the introduction ! Clive's forgery—does that justify the alleged Maratha exaction of पेशकश ?........

P. 255, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta,
21 Aug. 1946, morning

We are quite safe and well in this ward of the city ; but Basant Roy, a retired judge and son-in-law of Roy Bahadur M.C. Sarkar (of the book shop, also a judge) has been murdered and his house in Park Circus looted by organised hooligans. No post, no public conveyance, no fish or meat, no fresh vegetables except leaves (and that too in very small quantities) available since the morning of the 17th. Our faithful milkman and the defence organisation (all volunteers) have kept us alive. The situation is now improving except for solitary stabbing and the fear of it which keeps workmen away.

255, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta,
28.8.46

After the recent massacres and general plunder our post offices reopened two days ago, We are all well, except that my eldest brother's son-in-law's sister's husband (a retired District & Sessions Judge) has been hacked to pieces and his property (including all the ornaments of the ladies in the house) have been looted.

My grandson Susānta has lost some books. His medical mess was partly raided by the local Muslim riff-raff, but he himself was safe in our house on those days ; his loss is below Rs 100/-

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255, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta, 29,
30th Sep. 1946.

Though we are personally safe and our ward has been quiet, normal life and activities are impossible. The administration is hopelessly inefficient and dishonest and, as no improvement can be expected in the natural course of things, the future for the Hindus here is unspeakably dark, This depression has affected my literary production,

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255, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
23rd Jany 1947.

Two months ago, I carefully went through the Shiva-Digvijaya again, and the result is a confirmation of my theory that it is a modern concoction for glorifying the Prabhu caste.

255, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
12 Feb. 1947.

My health is my only solace, but my age is my despair.

255, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
16th Feby 1947, night.

Y R Gupte writes to say that some folios of an old ms of the *Sabhasad Bakhar* which he possesses, contain the information that at Shivaji's coronation in 1674, Kavindra Parmanand received rewards for a Sanskrit eulogy. No other source contains this information and nobody else has mentioned that the poet was alive in that year. You have inspected Gupte's ms. What is your opinion about the authenticity and date of this entry ? My own belief is that Parmanand was not among the 11,000 Brahmans entertained at Raigarh[1] in the Coronation month at a cost of lakhs of Rs, and that if he was still alive (which I doubt), he was an old invalid living elsewhere and soon to die. This is proved by the incomplete condition in which (he) left his Anupuran, stopping in 1662, just before the Chhatrapati's most glorious deeds.

255, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
4th July, 1947.

I have now begun writing letters again and also taken up my suspended literary work. What robs me of my peace of mind is not grief for loss—which religion or resignation to fate can enable a man to bear,—but the worry of having to manage the affairs of those who should, in the normal course of nature, have looked after me in my old age, but have gone away so early and left on my shoulders the burden of settling their property troubles, educating their sons, and marrying their orphan daughters. Two widowed daughters and one widowed daughter-in-law are now sheltered in my house, and unless I can enjoy ten years more of life and health, how can I set on their feet Abani's[1] sons now aged 16 and 14, or Sudha's sons, aged 15, 13 and 11, or provide husbands for Priyambada's seven daughters all of whom have been orphaned when maidens ? Satyen (my second son) is now in a broken down condition and cannot be expected to lead a robust helpful life for 10 or 12 years more.[2] Both my eldest son-in-law and Abani died in their 51st year, and Major Sushil Ghose was ten years younger still.

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[1] *Raigarh or Raigad* is situated 32 miles south-west of Poona in the Kolaba District of the Bombay State. Originally known as Reiri the town and the fort fell into the hands of the celebrated Shivaji in 1648 and were renamed by him as Raigarh in 1662. It was known to the "early Europeans as the Gibraltar of the east." The fort there was considered as the strongest one in India in the eighteenth century and became more famous during Shivaji's time, for it served as his capital from 1664 to 1680. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XI, 363-64.)

* * *

I have today started revising my English *Shivaji* for the 4th edn. In a few days I shall return your remaining Chapters (Vol III.) as revised by me. I find among my papers your suggestion for improving my *Shivaji*, starting from a page marked 5 and referring to my book p. 20, line 8, and going on to the end. Did you send any comments on this book pp. 1-19 and I have mislaid or lost them (your pp. 1-4) ? Not likely. Please look into your drafts.

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[1] Abani, *Jadunath's eldest son, stabbed to death by Muslim hooligans* in 1947.

P. 255, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
29/4

N. B. Roy to G. S. S.

In your eighty-second you are pushing on with your "New History of the Marathi people" like a young man of twenty-two in utter unconcern to the affairs of the world yet you will probably be shocked to hear what I am conveying.

Dr. Abani N. Sarkar, eldest son of Sir J. was coming from his press on Friday afternoon at about 5-30 when he was stabbed at the junction of the Dharamtalla & Esplanade just in front of the Methodist Church. A clergyman immediately ran up, held him in his arms and conveyed him to the Med. Coll. Hospital but he succumbed on Sunday night at about 12 A.M. (night) & the incident taking place on Monday afternoon at 5-30 P.M.

It is a stunning piece of news but you are now a Sthita Prāgna and we bear the shock with a calm resignation.

Sir J. too is outwardly calm and resigned but I have seen him sitting alone and looking out vacantly into the open. Kindly do what you can to console him. It has been a terrible blow. May God give him strength to bear it up.

[2] Satyen died in *September* 1955, vide infra, J. N. S. to G. S. S. dated 10. 9. 1955.

255, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
27th July 1947.

The last chapter plays the part of a decorated European shop-window to every book. Therefore, your ch. XVII must be rewritten as suggested by me, and further revised in typescript by me, before it can be passed for the press. A great work in 3 vols, representing a life's work, cannot be allowed to be damned by reason of a faulty or commonplace last chapter. This is a known principle of literary craftsmanship.

You will see that I now hold the view that Shahji was never a loyal or contented vassal of Bijapur, nor an unprincipled helper of the Muslims in subverting Hindu kingdoms. He fought for his own selfish ends, with the assistance and under the prestige of the Adil Shahi State. Why he quarrelled with that State—not only in 1648 when he was confined,—several times is clear from the Adil Shahi *farmans* traced in the Sayyidia Library of Haidarabad and first used by me. My theory will be acceptable in Europe, I think.

* * *

My literary programme is as follows—

1. Finished my portion of the Dacca University *History of Bengal* vol. II. Muslim Period, except for the last chapter...
   (Work over on 2nd July)
2. Revised the *House of Shivaji* for a 2nd ed.
   (Work over on 23rd July)
3. Revised Sardesai vol III. (24th & 25th)
4. Rewriting of *Shivaji* for a 4th edn. Upto 31st Aug. or 15 Sept.
5. Sept 16-30. Write the last chapter
   (Siraj-ud-daula[1]) of the Dacca University history.
6. 1 Oct.—29 Feb. 1948. Compose my *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, vol IV.
7. March 1948. Finish the Benares University History, vol. on Akbar (half done 3 years ago
8. April. Prepare *Poona Residency Correspondence* last volume
   (Daulat Rao Sindhia 1809-1818)
   If I live so long, I shall thereafter be a free man.

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[1] Siraj-ud-daulah succeeded Alivardi Khan in April 1756. He was defeated by Clive on 23 June 1757 at Plassey and was executed by Miran, son of Mir Jafar. (Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, 410.)

9. My English translation of Bakhshi Bhawani Shankar's *Life of Yashwant Rao Holkar* has been lying ready in typescript for over two years. But I cannot risk printing it in the present economic conditions.
10. I wish very much to print under my editorship and at the expense of the two Shivaji and Sardesai fund surpluses
    (*a*) the Jaipur Dingal letters on Shivaji's visit to Agra.
    and (*b*) the Kota daftar, selections only 1793-1804, the Marathi typescript is with me, and I have only to add English summaries. Dates already settled.

255, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
19th Aug. 1947.

I have lost all my high opinion of Paramanand as a contemporary historian, after a thorough second examination of his epic, in the course of preparing the 4th edn of my *Shivaji*. He was no historical recorder in any sense of the term, and not only an insufferable flatterer but also a dishonest reporter. He had a list of Muslim and Deccani nobles, which supplied him with the names of the leaders in every battle from Bhatvadi[1] (1624) to the Afzal Khan affair (1659), though many of them were dead in the interval. His account of the Javli[2] affair thoroughly discredits him when confronted with *Sabhasad Bakhar* and Jai Singh's despatches. Similarly the Shiva Digvijaya is a modern Prabhu concoction, intended (by some modern gossipy old man, well read in Sanskrit but not in tawarikh) to glorify the Kayastha families, as the greatest and most loyal helpers of Shivaji. This sort of propaganda writing sickens me. What a strange consequence here of the प्रभु ग्रामन्य !!! It poisoned even literature.

* * *

I also accept your view that Afzal Khan reached Wai[3] in September and not in June. Please refer to *Shiva Patra Sār Samgraha*, pt 3,

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[1] *Bhatvadi* could be identified 10 miles east of Ahmadnagar town. The famous battle between Malik Amba and the combined forces of the Mughal and Adil Shah of Bijapur was fought here in which Malik Ambar inflicted a crushing defeat on the allied forces in November 1624. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 54.)

[2] Javli is a sub-division of the Satara District of Bombay State.

[3] Wai stands on the Krishna, 20 miles north-west of Satara and 15 miles east of Mahableshwar. It is a sacred place and commercial centre. Here is half a mile long pacca ghat on the river Krishna where the people are engaged in ablution from morning till evening. (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, 45 ; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XIII, 509.)

No. 2620, and tell me whether by changing the punctuation we can deduce from this document the names of Balaji, Daulat Rao, Yesaji Sur Rao—all three successive Chandra Raos. Three men are mentioned as reigning in succession (evidently at one place, Javli.) What were these names? Daulat Rao's widowed mother adopted a son; was he Yesaji, created Chandra Rao & killed by Shivaji? When was Yesaji's father Surya Rao?

Calcutta 29,
20 Aug 1947.

I have returned Kibe's copy of the *Shiva Digvijay*; it is worthless, in spite of all your faith in it. Some idiotic modern Prabhu concocted it to glorify the Prabhu servants of the Chhatrapati.......

* * *

Herewith two urgent inquiries. The original Persian *farman* to Jedhe (by Md. Adil Shah in Feb. 1656 ?) should be carefully examined with a lens for the date.......

Calcutta 29,
20-8-47

Afzal Kh. destroyed the Tulja Bhavani, not the famous Tulja in the Naldurg district (now under the Nizam), but the goddess of the temple in the Poona district. Send me the exact name (Khed or Pabal ?) of the latter place with some notes on it.

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255 Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
3rd Sept. 1947.

When a historian quotes a document within inverted commas, he ought to give it faithfully word for word. But if he doctors the language to suit his theory, he will be charged with dishonesty.

* * *

A new and critical edition of the Sabhasad Bakhar based upon old mss. is a sorely neglected task for Maratha scholarship.

Calcutta 29,
Night, 5-9-47.

Please open your शककर्ता शिवाजी on p. 29. Where do you get the date 1643 for a second visit of Shivaji to his father ? I accept the first visit

(at Bangalore) but none at Bijapur. On p. 209, you write सई वाई लग्न
१७—४—१६४०

(Sane, 4th ed, says 1637.)

This is an exact date, and not a conjectural year. I have found no support for this date in my *Shakavali*. Please quote your authority for it to me,......

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255 Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
24th Jany. 1948.

This fourth volume of my *Fall of the Mughal Empire* is giving me more trouble than I had expected. In fact, in now taking up the threads of the subject dropped by me ten years ago (on the completion of Vol III), I find that much of the subject has passed out of my memory and I must begin my study afresh like a beginner.

---

10 Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
25th June 1948.

I have been passing my days in a sort of living death in the damp heat of Calcutta since my return. What grieves me most is that I can do no literary work in this climate, but have to pass my days like a bullock or frog.

---

10 Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
4th Aug. 48.

H. A. L. Fisher's *History* has been called by the *Times* "a Gibbon-like work",—no higher praise can be given to a modern historian.

Swai Man Singh Historical Series, Jaipur.

The Editor, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, proposes that the publication of these records should be done with the help of the Rajputana University, through a section of the Vice Chancellor's office under his orders. This will be the procedure : The editor will prepare the press copy, notes and introductions in Calcutta and [send] it to the Vice Chancellor for being censored by the State minister in charge of this item. The copy as finally passed by the minister should be sent to the press by the Vice

Chancellor directly, and the correction of the proofs of the Dingal and Persian portions should be done at Jaipur by competent proof readers hired by the Vice Chancellor out of the Darbar grant of Rs 3000/- for the first year. The English portion will be corrected by the Editor in Calcutta.

The correspondence with the press, and payments will be done entirely by the Vice Chancellor. The Editor will not draw any money except for meeting the copying or typing charges of the portions that have to be transcribed in Calcutta under his eyes.

A good deal of time will be saved and the volume of correspondence reduced, if the business side of the publication is located in Jaipur, and all points as they arise from day to day, are settled personally between the Vice Chancellor and the minister concerned, instead of referring them to the Editor in far-off Calcutta.

I recommend the Agra Law Journal Press for the work.

10 Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29.

Jadunath Sarkar

10, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
5th Jany. 1949, night.

The Government of India (the present and its predecessor during 1939-47) having robbed me of four-fifths of my wealth by issuing bogus notes and base-metal rupees, I have been compelled in my old age to earn fresh money if I am not to exhaust all my savings by spending them on my current monthly expenditure, and bring starvation down on my family after some ten years, when all my Government Papers, bank balances, and shares will have been sold and spent up.

10 Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
31 Jan 1949. 5 p.m.

Please refer to Rajadhyakshya's *Life of Jivva D. Bakhshi,*[1] p. 326, and tell me if it is true that Lakhwa Dada[1] was posted in Hindustan by Mahadji & D R Sindhia as naib (deputy or subordinate) to Jagu Bapu,[2] or as an independent subahdar. The P. R. C. always mention L. D. first & J. B. next.

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[1] Jivva Dada Bakhshi was the devoted general of Mahadji Sindhia. He died in January 1796. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, III, 149, 315; Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, IV, 81, 82.)

10, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
19th March 1949.

We are both very old now and with more work on our hands than we can hope to finish before our exit.

10 Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
5th June 1949.

The heat of the last 20 days has half killed me, by upsetting my liver, destroying my appetite and leaving me languid. But there is no remedy this year.

10 Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
18 June 1949, 9 A.M.

I have put my enforced delay in Calcutta to the best use, by editing and correcting the Eng. tr. of the Ain-i-Akbari Vol II (a most exhausting and stupendous task—the value of which only some English scholar will appreciate) and by continuing correcting and finally arranging my *Fall of the Mughal Emp.* Vol IV. upto 1799—completing all N. Indian affairs, except a half chapter on Jaswant Holkar's fights on the Narmada—to Lakhwa Dada's death 1802. The doings of Jaswant in Maharastra (1802) and Perron's growth and treachery, as well as Assaye 1803—remain to be written to complete the narrative portion of this final volume.

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[1] Lakshman Anant Lal, popularly known as Lakhwa Dada, was an able general of Mahadji Sindhia. He was appointed Sindhia's Viceroy in Northern India in November 1794 and held this office till March 1798 when he was arrested. In September 1799 he was again appointed Deputy of Daulat Rao Sindhia's North Indian dominions and was made the Viceroy in November, but was dismissed in May 1800. He was an honest and devoted officer and raised the standard of revolt against Daulat Rao Sindhia's ill-treatment of Mahadji's widows. He died in February 1802. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, III, 407; IV, 81, 145-64, 169-78; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, III, 365-66.)

[2] Jagannath Ram Krishna, popularly known as Jagu Bapu, was the first cousin of Jiva Dada Bakhshi. Daulat Rao Sindhia appointed 'Lakhwa and Jagu Bapu as his deputies in September 1799. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, IV, 143, 145, 157.)

10, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
Nov 10-1949.

I have now worked to the battle of Hadapsar (25 Oct 1802), and rearranged the whole campaign from May, to my satisfaction. A confused jungle has been cleared and dates ascertained. Where exactly is कावडी or कौडी ? Draw a line from Theur तीर्थ to old Punā and another from Theur to Hadapsar, and mark in the space between these two lines, *i.e.*, north of Hadapsar (village, and not the modern upstart railway station) where Kavdi is situated. See Khare's *Lekh Sangraha* xiv. nos. 6465, ... also *Purandaré Daftar* ii. Oct. 1802.

Give the bearings of Kavdi to Loni[1] (a rly station after Hadapsar on the Puna-Dhond line.)

Calcutta 29,
20th Nov 1949.

In the Gulgule Daftar transcripts now with me, there is no letter between that of 11 Aug 1803 ("In Puna there are some English Paltans; the Governor General's brother is with them") and that of Ashwin Badya 30 (15 Oct. 1803) which reports the battle of Assaye. If there are, in your collection any letters of the intervening two months, esp. such as describe the conditions in Sindhia's camp after he had set out on the Assaye campaign (say Sep. 1-23) please send copies of them to me.

---

10 Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
8th January 1950.

Let me know to which branch of the Brahman caste Lalji Ballal, news-writer in Daulat Rao's camp, *i.e.*, the Gulgulé agent and the writers of Purandaré Daftar, vol II. (1802 letters on Jaswant Holkar's invasion) belonged[2].........

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[1] Loni is a town 11 miles south of Poona.

[2] They were Saraswat Brahmans. (Vide G. S. S. to J. N. S. 13. 1. 50.)

10 Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
9th Feb. 1950.

Thanks for the Vaidya Daftar, Vol IV, received from you a week ago. It does supply many details of the intrigues at Sahu's court in his last days, and only 2 letters of interest to me—viz., the Bhonslés' raids into Bengal. Three fourths of the volume is pure rubbish.

10 Lake Terrace,
Cal 29, 1 Apr 1950.

When General Perron resigned Daulat Rao Sindhia's service in July 1803, Ambaji Ingle[1] was sent from the Deccan with 15 (or 7) of De Boigne's[2] battalions to N. India to take his place. This force arrived near Agra in Oct. that year, and was annihilated by Lake[3] at Laswari on 1st Nov. 1803. Lake in his despatches speaks of the Maratha commander in that battle as Abaji,[4] which I suppose was a Persian mis-spelling of Ambaji. But G. Duff writes that he could not ascertain who this Abaji was, "probably one of Ambaji's *karkuns*." Khare 157 vol. xix, p. 7937 says that at Laswari the Deccani cavalry (only 2000) was commanded by Gulab Rao Kadam[5] and a Fadnis. Does the History of the Gwalior sardars give the name of this Fadnis? Was he Abaji? My sheets of the Gulgulé daftar do not touch the battle of Laswari. Do your Gulgule papers contain any account of this battle? If so, please send me a translation of such letters immediately, and also report if you can trace Ambaji Ingle's movements 20 Oct—6 Nov. 1803.

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[1] Ambaji Ingle served under Mahadji Sindhia as his agent-general in Mewar for eight years. After the death of Mahadji, he tried to ingratiate himself with Daulat Rao Sindhia and became his helpmate. During his viceroyalty of Sindhia's dominions in Northern India, he mismanaged the affairs and amassed a large fortune. He was no soldier and "sank to the lowest depth of cowardice and villainy when at Laswari (November 1, 1803), he sent his sepoys on the battle, only to be butchered by the thousand, while he himself remained safe in the rear and made his escape at the first opportunity." (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, IV, 50, 152, 157, 274-77.)

[2] De Boigne was Mahadji's French General. He was born in Savoy on 8 March 1751 and sailed to India in 1778. He entered Sindhia's service in 1784 and fought many battles for him. He resigned his commission in December 1795 for reasons of health and left for Europe in 1796. He died in 1830. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, III, 140, 217-20.)

[3] Lake, (Lord) Gerard, was the British Commander-in-Chief. He was an experienced and able general and assisted Wellesley in the breaking up of the Maratha Confederacy.

[4] "The supreme head of Sindhia's forces in this battle is named *Abaji* in the English despatches, clearly a Persian scribe's miswriting of *Ambaji* by dropping the dot (*nuqta*) for *n*. This name puzzled Grant Duff, who writes (iii,253 *n*). "I have not ascertained who this officer was......... It was perhaps one of Ambaji Ingle's *carcoons*." The Maratha records clearly state that Ambaji fought the English at Laswari (Khare, XIV, pp. 7938 and 7919). No clerk (*Karkun*), whose name is utterly unknown in Maratha history could have been commander-in-chief of Sindhia's choice brigades at Laswari." (*Fall of the Mughal Empire*, IV, 311).

[5] See *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, IV, 296, 299, 303, 305, 311.

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10 Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
5th Ap. 1950.

Don't worry about Ambaji Ingle's movements in Oct. 1803. One hour after posting my last card to you, I found conclusive evidence in Kharé [,] xiv. that he was present at Laswari. I now want to know about Sarwar Khan[1], who (according to James Skinner, an ex-officer of Perron) really led the Sindhian army at Laswari and also at Delhi (11 Sep.) Can you trace him or his family in the Gwalior Jagirdar History, 2 vols in your library?

10, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
15th May, 1950, night.

On this your 86th birthday, I have given the finishing touch to the last chapter of my *Fall of the Mughal Empire* and sent it to the press. Its subject is even more truly the fall of the Maratha Empire.

I can say that I have written it, not with ink, but with my heart's blood. In saying so, I am not thinking of the personal sorrows and anxieties—which have clouded the evening of my day, nor of the minute study and exhausting labour that had to be devoted to the subject in this terrible summer heat,—but of the subject matter of the last chapters,—the imbecility and vices of our rulers, the cowardice of their generals, and the selfish treachery of their ministers. It is a tale which makes every true son of India hang his head down in shame. But, at last, my task is done, and I am free again.

10, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
19th Octr. 1950.

My *Fall*, Vol II (Panipat) has been minutely revised and corrected for the 2nd edn., of which the first 360 pages (upto the death of Sadashiv

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[1] See *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, IV, 291 f. n., 300, 302, 303, 311.

Rao Bhau) have been already printed. On taking stock of the changes, I find that Shejwalker, after his 14 years of "strenuous and exclusive labour" on the Panipat campaign of four months—against the entire North Indian history for 17 years treated in my second volume,—has been able to correct me in only four small points, namely

(1) Ghatikā means 24 mts and not one hour (ghantā)

(2) The moon set at midnight and not at 9. 15 p. m.

(3) Nana Fadnis wrote that in the evening when Méhéndele[1] fell, the Marathas were at first hopeful of destroying the entire (enemy) army. As this sentence had no nominative and no personal pronoun before the word "army", I mistook it for the Maratha army. But Shejwalker's inference that that night's fighting increased the confidence of the Marathas is falsified by the report of the Gaekwad troops as recorded only 8 months after the battle. Here I am right.

(4) Gopal Ganesh Barvé's[2] Oudh raid began on 29 Dec. and not at the beginning of that month as I had conjectured. This correction is due solely to the publication after 1934 (*i.e.*, the 1st ed of my Vol II) of the full letter of Barvé in the *Aitihasik Sank. Sahitya* III of which only a fragment was available to me in Purandaré Daftar, i. 392, in 1933. And even there, I had added that this raid was said to have taken place in January 1761.

* * *

It has long been a dream with me that a Research institute (for post-graduate work) and a first class public school (like the Doon School, but not so costly or aristocratic) may be established at Lonavla,[3] and I included this point in my note to the last University Commission (Radhakrishna[n]'s). But under our present Government there is no hope of our living to see its realisation. A full and learned library is the indispensable first requisite of a research institute, and in respect of books Lonavla is no better than the Sahara desert.

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[1] Balwant Rao Mehendele was the renowned lieutenant of Sadashiv Rao Bhau, the Maratha commander-in-chief at the Third Battle of Panipat. He lost his life in a skirmish with Najib Khan on 7 December 1760. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II, 304-406; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 306, 331, 416, 430.)

[2] The Maratha raid into Oudh under Gopal Ganesh Barve began on 29 December 1760 and failed disastrously. "At all events, this raid *cum* fomented rebellion in Oudh did not affect the issue at Panipat." (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II, 313-14, 314 f. n., J. N. S. to G. S. S. dated 19-10-1950.)

[3] *Lonavla* is situated 39 miles north-west of Poona on the Poona-Kalyan railway line.

10 Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
13 Dec. 1950.

As for Ujjain, please read my article in the *Vikram 2000 Jayanti Volume* issued from Ujjain two years ago.

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10 Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
18th Jany 1951.

With breathless labour I have finished editing, correcting and preparing for the press the mss of *Poona Residency Vols* X (Kumar Raghuvir) and XIV (myself) and the first 8 sample pages of each, as submitted by the press have been approved by me. I have every hope of Vol X being completed and bound before 31 March next ; as for Vol XIV. I am hopeful [of] success after some amount of hard driving.

10, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
23rd January 1951.

I do not share your optimism that this Conference will succeed in dragging the Jaipur royal archives into the light of day, or even in actually publishing a scholarly history of India ; their past action—or more correctly, inaction—gives no support to such an expectation.

I still hold to my decision of not wasting my time by joining in such futilities.

10, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
14th March 1951.

The *Poona Residency Correspe* vol. X (ed. by Kumar Raghuvir Sinh) was entirely printed last week and is now being bound for despatch to Bombay. Vol XIV, (ed. by me) was printed yesterday, and when the Index is printed today, it will be handed over to the binders.

The work is at last done,—and I too am done. For three months I had to suspend all my personal studies and even correspondence with my friends, in order to reduce the chaotic mass of 2260 typed (often badly) folios to 740 pages in print. The Press copy of vol X had been so carelessly prepared that many words,—sometimes whole lines, of the original had been left out, the copyist's errors of transcription had not been corrected nor even marked with a query sign to draw my attention,—and these defects were discovered only when the proof sheets came to me. With infinite labour I had to correct them. Every line of these 740 printed pages had to pass twice under my eyes. And I had to pay personal visits to the 2 presses frequently at my own expense for conveyance.

* * *

My own literary work has greatly suffered ; in fact I have not written a line during the last three months,—though I am being pressed by my agents to prepare revised editions of my *Aurangzib* vol V, *Fall* vol III, and *Mughal Administration*, which have been out of print for some years past.

* * *

All my diaries since my College days (1889 onwards) have been preserved, except the one for 1926 which was lost in changing houses ; and I can readily prepare a dated sketch of our joint historical tours in Maharashtra and work among the Poona records......

Talegaon-Dabhada P. O., (Poona)
21st June 1951.

I am now at work on the Bombay Gazetteer.......

---

10 Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
26th Oct. 1951.

The Rani of Jhansi's father was named Moro Balwant (Tembé ?)

[Place not given]
3rd July 1952.

Poona Residency Core Vol XIII Editor's preface will be written by me.......

Calcutta 29,
Oct. 22, 1952.

I have at last completed the revision of my *Shivaji* for the 5th edition, and 64 pages of it have already been composed. Your suggestion has been carried out, and some ten or twelve pages added, giving full details about Shivaji's ships, naval bases and tactics at sea. The newly discovered 13 cantos of Paramanand (Baroda) have been utilised in order to give a human story of Shivaji's domestic difficulties and Shambhuji's conduct. A surprising addition is a great Muslim historian's statement that Afzal Khan "whose head was filled with the intoxication of showing himself a Bahadur"—*i.e.*, hero, first gripped Shivaji's neck with his left arm very tightly and stabbed him with dagger. New Portuguese material supplied by Pissurlencar has also been incorporated.......

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10 Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
15 Nov. 1952.

I have declined the honorary membership of the B. Hist. Society, as it is neither a real benefit to them nor an honour to me to allow my name to be borne on the rolls of such a mushroom society. For the same reason I now decline the Hony. Doctorship which is being showered by the Indian Universities.

10, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
10th Sept. 1953.

The Hindust[h]an Standard requests you to send them an interesting article on Maratha history, biography & descriptive travel—or the romance of hunting for manuscript historical records. You may even turn into English (with suitable modifications and additions) any of your Marathi articles in..............and send it to me within 10 days. I shall revise it and send it to the paper. I trust you will not disappoint them. The length need not exceed 1500 words or five foolscap folio pages.

---

10 Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
31st Oct. 1953.

Received your draft report on the Gulgule daftar and the post card about it.......

It is a great feat to have plodded your way through such a vast mass of documents often without dates and obscure in many places, and supplied guiding light to future workers on all of them that have the least historical significance.

* * *

The sense of satisfaction that you feel on a great task accomplished, is shared by your friend.

10, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
18th Nov. 1953.

I have received your sketch of the analytical contents (subject by subject) of the Gulgule Daftar. It is a feat of minute and accurate scholarship that you have done at this age, and I am glad that it has been done, for I know none else who could have done it.

---

10 Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
8th January 1954.

One more year has passed away and we are both alive and still in harness, though I am feeling the touch of age, in the form of a perceptible weakness and desire to take rest, instead of rushing about as in the old days of our touring.......

---

10 Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
6th Dec. 1954.

My latest prodding of Dr. B.A. Saletore has resulted in his moving the Foreign department to write officially to the Govt. of Gwalior for a loan of the last 5 (or 8) bundles of the Menavli daftar which Amrit D. Parasnis sold to Maharajah Sindhia 2 or 3 years ago. Since then every body is sleeping. Pissurlencar is expected to return to Goa about the middle of this month. He has discovered and transcribed a vast mass of materials (mostly in Portuguese, several in Persian and a few in Marathi) among the archives of Lisbon. They chiefly relate to Vijaynagar and the two Deccani Sultanates. Those that deal with Shivaji and the exiled Prince Akbar will be sent to me as soon as he can manage.

---

10 Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
15 Dec 1954.

Personally I keep good health in the cold weather, though my writing work has necessarily stopped.

---

10 Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29
11 th Jany 1955

I am quite well though without my wonted vigour. At present I am busy completing my Military History of India. Bhau has informed me that Pissurlencar is expected back at home near the end of this month and that I can hope to get the new historical records brought by him from

Lisbon, probably through Priyolekar, the Maratha author. The foolish Goa authorities may stop them if sent by post.......

---

10 Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
1st February 1955.

The new year has come but brought nothing to cheer either of us. We start the 50th year of our friendship without hope of the future. You are lonely and sick of a life of unrelieved malady and idleness in intellectual activity. I am no better.......

* * *

For myself I am feeling the touch of age for the first time.......

I write to you to relieve my surcharged heart, as personal talk between us is impossible. You need not stand on ceremony and reply to this letter by straining your eyes. My consolation is that it will create a pleasant diversion in your solitude.

Chevalier Panduranga S.S. Pissurlencar went to Portugal in June 1954 and also attended the Oriental Congress at Cambridge in October. He was due to leave Lisbon for India about the middle of December last and send me many copies of Portuguese records and photos of Persian letters relating to 17th century Maharashtra, which he has collected in Portugal. But for four months I have not heard from him.

---

10 Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
3rd Feb. 1955.

Saletore has written that when Maharaja Sindhia visits Delhi at the end of this month, he will discuss the remnant of the *Menavali* daftar with the foreign dept. But be sure, he will again give us the slip.

---

10 Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
1st March 1955.

I have received some new transcripts of Portuguese materials from Pissurlencar, but they do not amount to much.......My History of Indian Wars will recommence publication in the *Sunday Hindusthan Standard* from 6th March (Battle of Talikota.)

---

10 Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
23-6-55.

I am bearing the depressing heat of Calcutta by avoiding all kinds of work, mental and physical. Sri Vrindavan Varma (or some such person) of Jhansi has discovered Ahalya Bai's daily account book, giving details (and prices) of her daily food and enormous gifts in charity.

---

10 Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
10th Sep. 1955.

Last Thursday (8th) night Satyen's sufferings came to an end, and I now stand entirely son-less like you ; only you are free from any anxieties about orphan young grandsons coming from my sons and daughters.

---

10 Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
28th Sep. 1955.

Here Lady Sarkar has recovered from the first shock of Satyen's death, but she feels dreadfully lonely as she cannot leave her bed. I am fairly well, though doing hardly any work.

How are you passing your time now a days ? There is no congenial literary work for you, and idle reading is painful to your eyes.

---

10 Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
1 Oct 1955.

V. K. Bhave of Poona, has presented me with a free copy of his new Maratha book *Yuga-Pravartak Shri Shivaji Maharaj.* It is a cheap popular pot-boiler, quite innocent of research. I have refused to express my opinion on it, on the ground that I being a "foreigner" am regarded by this author's party (and his patron Ane) as incapable of understanding the true genius of Shivaji and have insulted Shivaji by not invariably attaching some laudatory adjective to his name (See p. 8 of Ane's प्रस्तावना[)].

---

10 Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
27 Oct. 1955.

I wonder if I shall be able to travel outside Calcutta any more, and meet you again.

* * *

In view of her age and the long succession of calamities in our family, the future has no charm for either of us.

10, Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
7th Dec. 1955.

I am facing my 86th birthday without joy and without that serene look at the future which is the highest reward of a well-spent life. I do not share your happy lot in standing on the brink of Eternity, as an absolutely detached creature, free from every earthly entanglement and ready to drop into the eternal slumber at a moment's notice.

---

10 Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
New Year's Day, 1956.

On the threshold of the New Year my thoughts naturally turn to you in your lonely *āshram*, still fighting heroically against weakness, failing powers and enforced idleness.

* * *

I shall explore the possibility of moving the Jaipur Maharaja through him to allow the publication of the Jai Singh letters but he can hold forth no hope about the Parasnis *rumals* now at Gwalior.

---

10 Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
5-3-56.

So, Mavlankar is gone. He should have retired four years ago, when we met him, convalescing, during his trip to Talegaon. He disregarded the warning of Nature, though improved by his rest in an English village, which proved what he really needed. This comes of ploughing the barren sands of Indian politics.

---

10 Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
9th Apr 1956

I too share your disgust at having to pass my old age in indolence, unable to work, while the brain is still fit.

---

10 Lake Terrace,
Calcutta 29,
19-4-1956.

This is the second successive year when I shall miss your birthday gathering. Heaven knows if we shall meet ever again.

◆

(B)

G. S. Sardesai's Letters to Jadunath Sarkar

Baroda
Feb. 3. 1914

Reading your article "A Mughal Prince at the Maratha Court," in the *Modern Review*, I think, your emendation of Shakarbheth into Shankarpeth is not correct. It must be Shākarpen (साखरपें), a fairly large village, at the foot of the Sahyadris, about 8 miles north of Vishalgad, some 23 miles west of Malkapur[1] & nearly as much south of Sangameshvar where Sambhaji was captured. My own native place is some 8 miles west of Vishalgad—our title or surname, Sardesai, is still combined with the word Khelna where the Brahman kings had conferred some landed rights upon our ancestors. A beautiful trunk road runs from Kolhapur and Malkapur through Shakarpen to Ratnagiri on the west coast. The whole scene containing my native place, is very familiar to me.

Motibag Road,
Baroda,
17th August 1922.

I had been to Thana and Poona last week, lecturing at both places on Panipat and the value of historical records. My trip enabled me to discuss various points and learn the latest researches. I find much new material is coming out and there are hopes we shall soon have plenty of authentic original records on the Maratha period ; we shall soon have to rewrite the period of Shahji and Shiwaji. Many शकावलिs, more or less after the जेधेशकावलि have been discovered and they seem all apparently to have one common source, each family adding a few more details of their own, *e.g.* the जेधे family have apparently added details glorifying to the Jadhes; all such details, therefore, must be accepted with caution. Then three Sanskrit poems of a high order have been discovered, in which accounts of Shahji and Shiwaji have been given, containing several more details than we at present know. Two of the poems are by जयराम कवि and the other by परमानंद कवि. The former lived with Shahaji, Vyankoji and Shiwaji and the latter, with Shiwaji only. परमानंद 's work is called शिवभारत, contains 2400 verses and is apparently closely imitated by the Tanjore शिलालेख. Jayaram wrote पर्णालाख्यान (history of Panhala) and राधामाधव विलासचंपू the latter half of which is devoted to Shiwaji's exploits. Before Shiwaji undertook his last Karnatic expedition, his brother Vyankoji had once come into the Deccan and fought with Shiwaji. Jayaram says he has written several similar आख्यानs, like the पर्णालाख्यान. The three mentioned above are at present in press and will come out in a few months. Mr. Rajavade is editing one, in which he gives a full account of Shahaji, who maintained many Sanskrit Pandits in his court. All these, I am sure, will make a valuable addition to our knowledge of the Shiwaji period...... Your statement in the second edition of some documents being forgeries has severely pained all Maharashtra......

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[1] The town of Malkapur is 25 miles north-west of Kolhapur and 13 miles east of Khelna (also called Vishalgarh) in the Bombay State. It was the capital of the old Vishalgarh State. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XIII, 480-81 ; Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, 191.)

[Place not given]
9.12.1922.

The original home of the Ghorpades was & is Mudhol; Kapsi[1] became the seat of one branch after the Kolhapur Raj was established about 1 12 by Tarabai.[2] Ram Chandra Amatya was the first important person to organize Rajaram's affairs after Sambhaji's fall.

Powell Building Girgaum
2.2.1927. Bombay

Rajavade passed away on 31st last at Dhulia. The historical scholarship of Maharastra is distinctly poorer by his death. The year has been an abnormal one even for history. Khare, Parasnis, Bhave, Rajwade all having passed away in a short time. .....

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[1] Kapsi was the seat of one of the thirteen estates of the old Kolhapur Raj. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, VIII, 284.)

[2] Tarabai was the queen of Chhatrapati Rajaram. After her husband's death in 1700, she crowned her son, as Shivaji II. She was imprisoned by Rajasbai, another queen of Rajaram, in 1714 and was closely watched for the rest of her life. She was a wise and intelligent lady and aimed at becoming the supreme guide of the State. She died in December 1761. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 330, 342, 359, 361 ; II, 14, 23, 117. 270, 287, 289, 293-8.)

Powell Building
Girgaum
21.2.1927.

Maharastra, particularly the vociferous section of it, is furious against you, as you would have seen from the cuttings I sent you yesterday. I enclose another cutting today, which I attribute to the same source as *Kesri.* They are furious against me also, for either siding with you in my views or at any rate not trying to check your pen. I don't know why these people cannot credit us with ordinary honesty. Why they cannot allow us to hold our own views. I am sure you & I differ in very many points, but that is no reason why we should quarrel & imitate the Poona tastes. But obviously they cannot bear our being friends. All history means interpretation & view & I firmly believe history is useful on this account.

The Poona section entirely forgets how much the history of Shivaji owes to your labours. Had the Persian & foreign sources not been brought to light by you, we would have no true account of him even now. You have made Shivaji a human figure in the world. All the episodes from Afzal Khan onwards are entirely your creation whatever the Maharastra might say. But I must stop. Beni Prasad's *Jahangir* has given me ample details of the early careers of Shahji and Shah Jahan : but they stop abruptly at Jahangir's death Oct. 1627. I am in correspondence with Beni Prasad for a further period of 10 years. The excellent research scholars of the......who are blessed with the power of making fresh discoveries everyday, have made an entire mess of the whole period, 1610-1650, in their zeal to prove the Jedhe date of Shivaji's birth.

* * *

I have to make a personal suggestion. When you print your new edition of Shivaji, please do change Shiva into Shivaji. The former is an insulting appellation.

Powell Building Girgaum
14. 4. 1927

This *Shivaji* vol. is nearly killing me. I do not know how it can come out in time. We are doing our best. Eagerly await your paper.......

* * *

I seem to have wasted in a way three months of my life : but the study of Shivaji's times has now made me quite at home on the subject with copious indexes & notes—persons, places & all; & once I am out of the present work, I can rewrite *Shivaji* without the least help of the... people. It is the extreme hostile attitude of these...people which has retarded the progress of history in the University & with Govt. they are extremely jealous of other workers & would rather damage all other work in the hope of pushing on their own hobbies. But they are now thoroughly exposed. All sober minded and impartial readers have immensely liked your review of Rajwade's work, as the most complimentary & impartial. Only yesterday Jaykar told me he appreciated your article very much......

Kirloskarwadi
12.6.1927

I am getting more and more convinced that the 1630 date of Shivaji's birth must have been purposely fabricated.

* * *

Grant Duff has written a detailed note of a few old papers which he had obtained at Bijapur—& which he often quotes as Bijapur MSS. The note appears in his first Vol. in his account of Shahaji. Kindly read it & let me know if you think we can now trace these papers at Bijapur. I suspect Parasnis got hold of them & supplied them to Kincaid & must have deposited them in his Museum. They are valuable papers & if recovered would enable us to reconstruct Shivaji's early career & with this view it would be worth the trouble if we went to Bijapur and look for them. Please tell me what you think of the matter. I can arrange a flying visit to Bijapur.

Powell Building Girgaum
23.6.1927

.........claims the *firmans* to be his private property and will not show them to you.

* * *

Bhave's son saw me & is sending the Ali Bahadar papers to the press. The Kota Daftar of Gulgules stands over until Wakoskar finds time. He wants me to go there.

Chandrachud Daftar too stands still. All progress is hopeless so long as...... is the boss of the ...... You realized this long ago. I had my hopes for long : but now I see I have been fully undeceived.

Powell Building
Bombay 4.
7.7.1927

Your strongly worded letter at once awakened the Bombay officials to the need of the Peshwa Daftar being inspected. The Finance member Mr. C. V. Mehta wrote to me to go & meet him at Poona on 5th which I did & returned last night. He called together the Edn. Minister, Mr. Hatch the Commissioner C D., the Director of Edn. and the Financial Secretary and discussed with me the whole question ; none of them had any idea about it, except Mr. Hatch who strongly supported your appeal. We had an open face to face and very interesting discussion, which I will report to you when we meet. Mr. Mehta said, they were absolutely bankrupt and suggested only a three months' trial. He left me with an assurance of doing what he could in the matter. I expect something will be decided almost at once. Whatever the outcome may be, we shall have done our duty. Unremitted knocks like this are essential in these days of talk & appeal. I will write to you the result when it comes out.

Powell Building, गिरगांव-मुंबई.
ता. 21.7.१९२७.

Mr. Deshpande has *firmans* just similar to those discovered by Potdar, the blank sides being used for religious books. If the work offers fruitful results, we will go there again in Oct. if not we will have done with it. I wonder what the Gul-Daste-Inizam is & what sort of Imadshahi papers are there. Any way you have to pass through that region—you can't avoid it : why not then make use of it. I am not very keen : I have plenty of work of my own : but the field in Berar is quite new : they need outside guidance badly & our presence will put fresh spirit in them. There are some good workers there. I am inclined to leave Poona alone for the present. But possibly the Peshvas Daftar question will have been decided by then.......

Powell Building Bombay no 4
29. 12. 1927

The whole Daftar from 1737-1823 is intact, & explains the whole Maratha policy in the north & with the Rajputs in particular so clearly that when printed, this Kotah find will be a great rival to the Patwardhan Daftar printed by Khare. The whole family of the Scindhias is represented

& the news letters from Mahadji's camp practically from 1763 to his death are indeed very valuable : the last three years of Mahadji's stay at Poona, with his rivalry agst. Nana Fadnis are most graphically described in almost daily letters, detailing the happenings. Even if rigidly sorted, 3000 letters will have to be printed.......

Khadkala
16. 3. 1928

Your review of Shivaji's life delivered at Madras is an excellent pronouncement which must disarm all reckless critics....Such a public utterance from you was highly needed & has not come a moment too soon.

During Mahadji's administration of the Emperor's affairs, so many names of Imperial Princes occur in Marathi papers that I am puzzled in identifying them. One Prince had come & taken residence in Poona, & another at Hyderabad : a third at Benares. Can you point out to me or send me a full list of the Imperial Mogul Family from 1761 to 1857. What I need is a complete genealogical table fr [from] 1761 onward.

Khadkala 21/3/28

Kamshet, Dist Poona.
11. 8. 1928

I have rd. yr. letters. So very glad to learn that you have freed yourself fr. a task which was sapping all your body & mind. Now you can wholeheartedly devote all your life in literary studies wh will be the only permanent & useful contribution to the Indian nation. I only earnestly pray that you soon recover all your former health & vigour.... I have finished Mahadji Scindhia upto 1792 when he visited Poona. The work will soon go to the press & will I expect be out in 3 or 4 months. I have just finished printing a fresh edition of my *Mussalmani Riyasat*, which I have brought uptodate in all essentials, from the fresh research wh. came out during the last few years. And in this connection I cannot thank you sufficiently for the dates of the *Jalus* of all the emperors, which you supplied me at such a great trouble. I have also secured the 23 pictures of the Mogul line from Tamorlane[1] to Bahadur Shah[2] the last; for I strongly feel there is hardly any family with this Moghul line in point of achievement & greatness. I have carefully given in this edition the wives and children of all the emperors with dates and details. The University students have a great demand for my book. Anyway, I am managing to earn about 100 Rs a month & I have not yet elected to draw the little pension wh. the Gaekwar has allowed me.

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[1] Timur, the redoubtable Oriental conqueror, was born at Kesh, in Tran oxiana in 1336 and was the son of Teragai, the head of the Barlas tribe. He became the King of Samarqand about 1369. He died at Atrar (Otrar) on 17 February 1405. (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 25-26, pp. 994-5.)

[2] Bahadur Shah II was the son of the Emperor Akbar II and succeeded to the throne in 1837. He was tried and deported to Rangoon for participating in the Great Rebellion of 1857.

* * *

If you come in Oct. or Nov. we shall settle all the points of Shivaji and then go to Nagpur together in December. Anyway, you must give this place an early trial, so as to make the best use of the life, before both you & me, [?] & to produce the highest results.

Kamshet Dist Poona
3. 11. 28

I suppose you have carefully followed the 5th chapter of पर्णाल पर्वतग्रहणाख्यान, in which the battle of Umrani[1] has been described in detail. The tussle between Shivaji & Bijapur & between Prataprao and Buhlol[2] went on for a long time. The latter was allowed to escape with life by Prataprao from the field of Umrani, two days march to the west of Tikote[3] (त्रिकोटनगर 5.34 & 39 of पर्णाल पर्वतग्र०न). Muj[z]afar Khan & Sarja Khan were ordered to render help to Buhlol (5.40) from the region Rangna. Similarly Sidi Masud[4] of Adoni[5] and

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[1] Umrani is 36 miles west of Bijapur in Bombay State. (Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 196.)

[2] Bahlol Khan (original name Abdul Karim Miana) was the son of Abdur Rahim Miana. He became the head of the family after his father's death in July 1665. He deposed Khawas Khan, the wazir of Bijapur, in November 1675 and installed himself in the premiership. He ruled the state till his death on 23 December 1677. He was "one of the potentest men in the kingdom of Bijapur." (Quoted by Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 232.)

(Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, 56, 61; *Shivaji*, 194-7, 224, 232, 239, 242, 280, 281, 310; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 182, 202-3, 219, 247, 249.)

[3] Tikote is situated 12 miles west of Bijapur. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XIII, 295.)

[4] Siddi Masud was the son-in-law of Siddi Jauhar. He became the wazir of Bijapur in February 1678. "Masaud was a masterly defender of forts, but cherished low people and suspected his friends and even his wives and sons. He knew not how to cherish the soldiers and the cultivators." (Quoted by Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, 67) He resigned the premiership on 21 November 1683. (Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 310, 314, 315, 324; *House of Shivaji*, 56, 66-7; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 249.)

[5] *Adoni* is a town in Bellary District, 66 miles from Bellary and 307 miles from Madras. The fort of this place stood on five rocky granite hills, and a lonely fig tree standing on top of one of these peaks could be seen towards the close of the nineteenth century from a distance of about 30 miles in every direction. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, I, 25-7.)

Abdul Aziz[1] of Karnool were also similarly [?] ordered to join Buhlol. But before he could be joined by these forces, he was attacked at Umrani by Prataprao and allowed to escape. Thereupon Buhlol [paper torn] turned to the southwest for joining with Mujafar Khan & Sarja Khan from Rangna & was suddenly attacked by Prataprao in the narrow pass of Nesari, which is directly east of Rangna above the Ghats. It is also on the north bank of the Ghata-prabha[2] river near its source in the hills. I feel perfectly sure there is no other Nesari —& the one to the north of Belgaum quite fits in for the operations, although the पर्णाल०ख्यान breaks off after Umrani. I send you a little map of the region between Panhala & Bijapur with Nesari & Rangna shown in. The accounts of Sabhasad & Chitnis & the Jedhe also fit in with this. I think the Niviti of Jedhe is a misreading for Nesari in Modi.......

Kamshet
15.11.1928

Your interpretation of दादाजी कोंडदेव बेंगरु, लास महाराजांकडे गेला is quite correct. Shivaji at the time was 12 years old. This expression "12 years age" has been common to all writers including Shiva Bharat & has given rise to acrimony in the birthdate controversy. I am not yet prepared to give up the 1627 date & am strongly of opinion that the later date is purposely concocted with all astronomical details, not usually given. If you & I were to visit Tanjore once, we may be able to settle so many points. We must find the correct birth date of Vyankoji first. As I understand, Shivaji spent his first year at Shivneri,[3] & the next 4 or 5 years at Khed-Shivapur. This place was renamed after Shivaji probably by Dadaji Kondadev. It used to be called खेडे बारें before & now it is called पेठ शिवापुर-पेठ means a market place for the surrounding villages. The Konde (कोंडे) देशमुख of शिवापुर had a Maratha Diwan named Navadkar, who was the helpmate of

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[1] Abdul Aziz was the son of Siddi Jauhar, who was a slave of Malik Abdul Wahab and had made himself master of Karnul after Wahab's death. He was created Salabat Jang by Ali Adil Shah II. His sister was married to Siddi Masud. (Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, 66-67.)

[2] The Ghataprabha is a tributary of the river Krishna and has its source in the Western Ghats. (Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 196.)

[3] Shivner is a town and a hill fort 50 miles north of Poona and a mile west of Junnar in Bombay. It is famous for having been the birth place of the celebrated Maratha leader Shivaji. It is also known for its springs, its strong fortification with five gates in it. (Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 192 ; *Short History of Aurangzib*, 215 ; *History of Aurangzib*, IV, 234 ; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XII, 410.)

Dadaji & who helped Dadaji in settling Shivapur.[1] Duff mentions on the authority of some Bijapur mss. that Shivaji was kept in hiding for some time by his mother for fear of being captured by Mhaldar Khan[2] of Trimbak, acting under instructions of Mahabat Khan.[3] Shivner was too near Trimbak & the Mogul forces & so Jijabai with the help of Dadaji removed him to an out of the way place Khede-Bare, which later was renamed Shivapur. A garden of mangoes was planted & called Shahbag. A little to the west was Narhe (नर्हे) which was renamed Sambhapur, later after Sambhaji & Rajaram later settled a रामपुरपेठ near there. So this region was a favourite abode of Shivaji. At the age of 5 or 6 Shivaji was removed to Poona, which was re-built, after having been destroyed by Morar-Jagdev,[4] fighting against Nizam Shah. Dadaji built the Lal Mahal Palace at Poona in the Kasba. Rajwade 17.7 mentions Dadaji in 1639 as सुभेदार of Kondana[5] (Sinhgad) under Bijapur. So it seems Dadaji secretly helped Shivaji, although he was an official under Bijapur. Nos. 17.8, 16. 18 & 15. 266 are helpful as : [regards] Dadaji's part in the work. There is no doubt that Shivaji lived at Poona, before he went on a visit to his father at Bangalore. In the passage of Saubhasad, त्याबरोबर =with him, *i.e.* with Dadaji : शिवाजी जिजा ऐशीं-शिवाजी जिजा and such people that is, with some followers.

The Poona workers have during the last few years made a terrible confusion, in their enthusiasm to prove the correctness of 1630 date.

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[1] Shivapur is at the foot of Kondhana and was named after the young master Shivaji. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 92.)

[2] Mahaldar Khan was the Mughal guardian of fort Trimbak. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 61.)

[3] Mahabat Khan was the renowned general of Shah Jahan. He captured the fort of Daulatabad in June 1633 but soon afterwards went out of favour with the Emperor who severely reprimanded him for his failure to subjugate the Deccan completely. He took it to heart and committed suicide on 26 October 1634 (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 60, 61.)

[4] Murari Jagdev, a Brahman by caste, was the private secretary of Khwas Khan who had usurped supreme power after imprisoning Mustafa Khan, the Bijapuri Wazir, in 1633. He was high in Khwas Khan's confidence and rose to the very high position of Commander-in-Chief under him Afterwards, both of them fell out of favour with the king of Bijapur who got Khwas Khan murdered in 1635, and Jagdev was tortured to death one month after his patron's fall. (Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, 52-54, 57 ; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 60, 70, 92, 130.)

[5] *Kondana or Kondhana or Singhgarh* was situated about 12 miles south-west of Poona, in the Haveli sub-division of the Poona District of Bombay. The fort there was renamed as Singhgarh by Shivaji in 1647. It has played a great part in the South Indian History. Aurangzeb captured it in 1703 and changed its name to Bakhshindabakhsh or God's Gift. In 1706 the Marathas again captured it and renamed it Singhgarh. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XII, 543.)

Mr. Apte alone has written & printed over 800 pages on this subject *i.e.* the introductions of *Shiva-bharat, Shiva Charitra Pradeep, Shiva-Charitra-Sahitya* &c. not to mention the newspaper controversies, which are still raging. After reading all this enormous literature one gets completely bewildered about the real state of things. I hope you will be able to clear the path for us all once for all. The first noteworthy act of Shivaji was the capture of Murumdev, in Shak 1562; he renamed it राजगड. The capture of Torna[1] was not his first exploit. राजगड is near रायरेश्वर where the first activity of Shivaji took place.

The village Rairi is at the foot of the hill रायरेश्वर, where the temple is situated. This रायरी is different from the Rairi of रायगड near Mahad. रायरेश्वर has an extensive plateau which grows plentiful wheat. I get some very useful glimpses of this nature from स. ग. जोशी

Kamshet
25. 11. 1928

I have been trying to verify your Shivaji Chronology: but I am afraid I can't do any better than you have done. I suppose you have made full use of Mr. Bhave's chronology printed in his *Rumal* 3.

I am so glad to learn your *Shivaji* is in the press. I am sure with the labour you have put upon it, it will form an excellent authority on all controversial points, until, at any rate, fresh materials come out. Please do fully discuss all outstanding questions, even at the sacrifice of brevity. India will accept your opinion as authority, whatever the parochial Pandits of Poona might think. They have been hard at work to bring out an English life of Shivaji for their ter-centenary celebrations in February 16[9]30; but they have no worker, no writer & no funds. Mr. Kelkar was here to discuss the point with me & has since sent an appeal round for Rs 10000 to be collected for printing 5 vols on Shivaji, 3 of materials and 2 of lives, Mar and Eng. He asked me to sign the appeal: it is worded in a non-controversial spirit, distinctly mentions that both sides are equally strong as re the birth date of Shivaji & that this & the other questions need not hamper a united effort to bring out fresh vols of materials & a reliable life in Marathi & English. Mr. Kelkar meant to send the appeal to you for your signature. I do not know if he has done so. There is no harm if you sign it. I am sure nothing will come out of it: for authorship cannot be secured for money. No scholar in Poona who can write decent English, has studied Shivaji: so at the most some one will translate the Marathi version into English: this means there will be no genuine spirit in the work. And your book appearing something like a year in advance before their celebrations, will have taken the wind out of their bags. I am sorry with my present occupation, I cannot be of much help to you. I find no reliable source for Shivaji's dealings with Janjira. The *Sthala-Suchi* is no good. I will bring for you my copy when I come to Nagpur. Mr. Wakoskar was sending you a set of *Ithias-Sangraha.* Possibly it may go to Darjiling. I wonder why you are buying in duplicate all the vols of the Poona.......They are absolutely no good. 9/10 is either poetry or useless discussion. You can get a few points here and there for the Peshwa period.

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[1] Torna is 8 miles from Rajgarh. The Emperor Aurangzeb laid siege to the fort in 1704 and the place was renamed as Fatuh-ul-Ghaib or Victory from the Invisible, by the Emperor, (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, V, 191-92.)

Kamshet
28. 4. 1929

I have read & used Forbes vols...........To my knowledge I have not omitted any Marathi or English materials bearing on the period 1772-1800.

Kamshet
1. 5. 1929

You will be glad to hear that the Gwalior Darbar at my suggestion have sanctioned the next visit of the H. R. Commission to Gwalior in Dec. I have written to Abdul Ali[1] to arrange further details. The whole Kotah Daftar will be brought there. Gwalior shd. be a nucleus for all surrounding Rajput States to bring in their exhibits.......

Kamshet
11.5.1929

You will be glad to know that Govt. have sanctioned 11000 Rs for the Peshwa Daftar work & asked me to start the work in June under my supervision.

Poona,
National Hotel,
Opp. Railway Station
12.6.1929.

I have come & started the work of the Peshwa Daftar from the 10th. Mr. J. Ghosal is the Comner. under whose supervision I have to work.

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[1] Then the Keeper of Records, Imperial Record Department (now National Archives of India), New Delhi.

I have not yet decided about the staff: but they are going to associate with me a Govt. official of their confidence & of my selection, who will assist me at present & will conduct further work under my occasional supervision from Kamshet. I have decided to stay here for 3 months certain and thereafter as circumstances require.......It is very sultry here at present & a change from Kamshet to a harnessed life of 6-7 hours at a stretch seems very obnoxious. However, I am working with zest & devotion & trust I will be able to produce some tangible results......

Poona Alienation Office
15.10.1929

The Gwalior session is announced. Can we have a small programme of tour together either before or after the session,

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Alienation Office or Sardar Hindu Lodge
Poona
5.11.1929

While my work at the A.O. is progressing satisfactorily, a technical difficulty has arisen for some time. The original sanction provided by Govt. was for inspecting the Peshwas Diaries & not the whole Daftar. There has all along been a confusion on this point. The Peshwas Diaries so called form a small section of the whole Daftar, some 800 *rumals.* They are diaries in no sense of the term: they are mere daily account sheets arranged chronologically & they have been already selected & extracted & printed in 9 vols ...... Govt. want me to do the diaries & nothing else. They said the money was voted for the Diaries & we could not do anything else. Now the last 4 months work tells me there are most useful & most plentiful papers in the Chitnisi *Rumals* & the Jamar sections scattered throughout the ten thousand & more *rumals.* If so why need we waste our time over the Diaries which have been already done. Of course any & every old paper will always yield some kind of historical information, but we must observe some sense of proportion & bring out within three or 5 years the best results possible. Already we have selected ten thousand & more very good papers and copied & made ready for printing some one thousand. I have secured 5 good assistants & workers & we all work very harmoniously & most diligently. But this vexed question of the Diaries must be at once settled. I appealed to Govt. either to give me a free hand or appoint a small committee of one or two gentlemen knowing old papers & history, to advise me. I never found a more inert officer than Mr. Ghosal who never once has heard me. After repeated representations, Mr. Martin, the Chief Secretary to Govt. paid a visit & patiently saw the whole work & my procedure. He seemed to grasp all that I had to say. But Ghosal did not choose to attend, tho [though] he was called. He is entirely indifferent. Now you know how slowly the Govt. wheels move & precious time is being wasted. In these circumstances a visit from you would at once solve the problem. I spoke to Martin & Ghosal about your visit. They said they would heartily welcome your advice.......

Now that the work is in full swing & you & I have *nolens volens* been responsible for bringing it to this stage, it wd. be such a gain if you paid a visit here at your earliest convenience, say in the third week of this month. You can work here for a week & we shall settle the lines & then together travel to various places & go to Gwalior in Dec.

Poona,
22. 11. 1929.

I am handing over charge of the Peshwa Daftar work to my asst. & returning to Kamshet where please address further communication. My period of 6 months is over & I have now to put in a few days each month & supervise the operations.......

Kamshet Dist Poona
27. 11. 1929

You will have to remain in Poona for a week or so to see all our work & report & fix future procedure. The Comr. C. D. has already asked me to consult you on all outstanding questions. In fact this will be the main topic of discussion at Gwalior.......

P. Kamshet Dist Poona
2. 12. 1929

The owner of the Kotah papers Mr. Pandit requests you & me to visit him at Kotah for a day or so. It is also necessary that we visit Indore once again. I think the best thing we now can do to promote history is to take stock of things & urge on to work the various persons at present engaged in the pursuit at different places I am also keen on visiting Dhulia where all the papers collected by Rajawade are stored, We must once see what they are. You are wanted at the Alienation Office a few days at least if not a whole week.......

Alienation Office
Poona
12. 2. 1930.

I send you my note on Panipat. We have some 120 letters—most of which give some important fresh details. I wish to make these notes as short as possible, from the point of view of students, just to guide them in their study. But the outside officials who read these notes only, & who have no previous knowledge of the subject, need a more lengthy explanation. We have to strike the mean between these two extremes. This Section of Panipat is going to the press at once ; so kindly send the draft revised at your earliest convenience.

Poona Alienation Office
14. 3. 1930

We are getting excellent papers & have made ready some 1500 papers with foot-notes, dates & prefaces. The darkest period is Shahu's & we have got clear & chronological accounts of Bajirao's campaigns & Shahu's deliberations : our papers, I am sure, when published, will make far better contribution to history than Rajwade & Parasnis' vols have done. We are all working headlong & most of the campaigns, dates & movements have been clearly ascertained in mutual discussion, so that this body of workers is now well versed in this subject.......

Alienation Office, Poona
10. 4. 1930.

We are now finding most valuable papers on Bajirao's campaigns & we are now able to put down definitely the sequence of events & movements & activities of the various Sardars all of whom have dispatched letters which we find on the Chitnisi *Rumals*. About 150 *rumals* of this Chitnisi section are all account papers, not much worth for our purposes. In the other sections also we now & then find valuable bits of information to correct present day accepted ideas.......

Kamshet
1. 5. 1930

I have in all my life tried to be frank, humble & helpful to all whom I came in contact with, without caring to discriminate between good &

bad men. I have always been of opinion that we cannot avoid evil-doers in this world : you are forced to deal with them. So I leave them to their fate. They may or may not reap the consequences of their evil actions. That is not my look-out. I shall be content if I do my duty properly by all.......

* * *

Till now I proceeded on the idea, in writing my *Riyasats*, that I was to point out the good or the bright side of the picture : as the western writers had sufficiently described the dark side. But this view is no longer tenable. However I will now allow documents to speak rather than I impose my own view upon readers. Rajawade & Parasnis got together mostly the private papers, wh. had only a small fraction of the Central Govt.'s dealings : but the character of the Peshwa Daftar is entirely different—there is hardly anything private in them.

I have also to advise & run the Satara Museum work. Next week I go there for advising on the procedure & arrangement which is to be adopted in that institution.......

Kamshet
17. 5. 30

I spent two days looking over all the contents of the Satara Museum with the new Curator. There is no pre-Panipat paper there at all. There are three *rumals* of Mahadji's papers—wh. we saw & which I am soon going to arrange editing. The Governor is going to open the museum in July for which they are preparing. But I am after Mahadji papers & no money is just now needed.

* * *

I have not rd. back the letter I posted you about Dadaji Kondadev's mention. I have discovered another important letter wh. mentions Sawai Jai Singh having deputed one Deep Singh[1] as his ambassador to Shahu & the Nizam. This Deep Singh's interviews at Satara & Aurangabad are minutely reported—beautiful pen pictures of Shahu, Bajirao & others. I shall soon post you a verbatim translation.

---

[1] In 1730 a mission under Deep Singh was sent by Swai Jai Singh and Muhammad Shah, the Mughal Emperor, to visit Shahu, the Peshwa, and Nizam-ul-mulk. The main object of the mission was to gauge the political atmosphere in the Deccan and to find out the real intentions of the Marathas. "So far as any direct results are concerned Deep Singh's mission proved a failure. It only presents a graphic picture of the political situation of the times and explains the turn of future events." (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 111-116.)

About 500 letters are discovered concerning Tarabai & Ramraja[1] all very important.

[Place not given]
30. 6. 1930

I have taken July off entirely for my work on Bajirao II & am not attending at Poona.

* * *

We shall now dip headlong into the Jamar section of 8000 *rumals* काव्येतिहाससंग्रह पत्रेंयादी—new edition will be issued shortly with your foreword.

Kamshet
15. 7. 1930

I quite realise how very necessary it is to read the English literature on the period of Bajirao II. This literature begins to help me since 1802: up to that point Marathi materials—particularly Khare's vols are full. It will take me a few months yet to reach the year 1802. But I can't certainly wait till I am free to visit Darjiling, however much I wd. like to do it.......If you can mention to me the names of one or two most essential books for the period 1802-1818, I will try to procure.........

Poona
5. 9. 30

I wish you were by me at once to complete the plan & the details—we must strike when the iron is hot. Drafting, discussing, talking, explaining, interviewing entail too much strain on my body & mind already very poorly & I do not know who else can share this strain with me except yourself. We shall push through jointly the whole subject so quickly that I am sure we shall have done a life's duty. I have no one here to consult or advise. Please let me know if you can come. I write this hurriedly at the Ry station, waiting to catch the night train.

---

[1] Ramraja, Shahu's son by adoption, was elevated to the Maratha throne after Shahu's death on the assurance given by Tarabai, the queen of Rajaram, that he was her grandson. But after sometime the old lady declared him an impostor and no grandson of her and put him in confinement. He obtained his release after her death in December 1761 and was formally crowned by Madhav Rao I on 23 March 1763. He was incapable of handling men and matters and died on 15 September 1777. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 270-7, 287, 288, 293-98; III, 76; Main *Currents of Maratha History*, 128, 129-30, 131.)

Poona
6. 10. 30

You may note that Monday 20 to Wednesday 22 Oct are Diwali holidays & the offices are closed. Of course you & I can attend here by special arrangement to make best of the time at your disposal. Let me know when exactly you come & how you wish to be lodged.

Kamshet
13. 11. 30

I am longing to meet you & spend some time in your company. The sittings of the Record Commission are announced & my name is there. So I suppose we shall meet at Patna & be together thereafter. I think we shall have to pay a visit to Mudhol.

Kamshet
4. 2. 31

My work as it is steadily coming out will speak for itself. I am enclosing the provisional plan of my operations at the Daftar. A careful look at it will disclose to you how selections of a representative character are being arranged. It seems we have not many papers here of the time of Madhavrao II—that is Nana F's regime—full records of which went to Menavli & escaped the raid of the Inam Commission,[1] thus ultimately falling into the hands of Parasnis.......Nearly all papers we have selected are of first-rate importance & when all the selections come out, the whole Maratha History of the Peshwa period can be put on a proper & authentic basis....

* * *

P. S.

Can you kindly inform me when I can get "the Coat of Arms" & "the full Royal Insignia" of the Mogul Emperors of India. I want these for the series of pictures & the geneo[a]logy, with the Julus Dates of each emperor, which I am shortly publishing in Marathi.

P. Kamshet, Dt., Poona
6. 3. 1931.

I have received the copy you sent me of Mr. C. U. Wills' letter taking objection to my remarks in the paper I read at Nagpur. When you drew my attention to this subject in January, I at once wrote to Khan Bahadur Abdulali, explaining my remarks & begging apology for reflections which I had absolutely no intention of making agst. Mr. Wills. My reply was dated 6 Febry. last, & I thought it sufficient. You will see from the terour [tenor] of my paper that I was advocating the necessity for a further & closer study in Nagpur history & instanced the important treaty of Kanakapur, to which English writers had done no justice. I however extremely regret having given unintentional offence to Mr. Wills & shall feel grateful if you could make him full amends on my behalf. I do not know where he is, otherwise I would write to him myself.

---

[1] The Inam Commission was appointed before the Mutiny to scrutinize the documents of the lands which had been given to the Zamindars or Vatandars as gifts free of taxes. The work of the Commission was extensive. It inquired into nearly 35,000 cases of Inam and within its ten years' work 20,000 estates or jagirs were resumed.

I must however explain how my remarks arose. I did not know Mr. Wills at all except through his books. The introductory notice attached to the publications mentions Mr. G. P. Burton as being deputed by the C. P. Govt for looking into the records ; & the work was continued by Mr. Wills. So I understood he was deputed also. I quote the passage on a separate sheet for reference. However I apologise for the error.

As re[.] styling Wills' work perfunctory, I had no object in casting reflection on him. I only wanted to show how further research was necessary, & how one could not rest satisfied with what was already done. The use of the word perfunctory, I realise, was unhappy. I did not know perhaps the exact signification of the term. I used it to mean imperfect or insufficient : Wills quotes Webster & puts down the meaning as "performed superficially". You will thus see that I did not mean any offence to him personally. If criticism like this of work of previous scholars is not to be allowed, I think all progress would be hopeless. In fact I have said no more of Mr. Wills' work than he himself has roundly asserted in his introduction to the book in question. I enclose a few of Wills' lines on a separate paper for your notice. However I regret having used an offensive term & request you to kindly do what you think best by way of amends.

As I have already written fully to K B. Abdul Ali, I do not think it necessary to address him again : but you can use this letter in that connection to see that the affair is amicably closed.

Poona
16. 5. 1931

I do not know if I informed you that I have been asked to handist [handlist] the Poona Residency Records which Mr. Franks was handling. The work consists of comparing the typed matter with the original, arranging it chronologically, noting the contents & handlisting every document, with a view ultimately to throw open the four typed copies to students who may care to read them. I have so far read a few files & made ready two of them. The provisional plan of work which I suggested is submitted to the Comn. [Commissioner] for approval. But I send you three typed programmes for three files with a request to write me your opinion, whether you approve the procedure I am adopting. I am following the plan adopted by H. C. Hill in his catalogue of the India Office Records. I am numbering all the documents & classifying them under convenient heads. This I think is very convenient for readers & more compact than that each document should be listed separately. If all the classified contents suggested by me are printed together & published, they will form a useful handbook or catalogue to the Residency Records. The word handlisting has become trite & many people are fond of it, without knowing what it conveys. The contents of the Residency files are more or less like any one of the Vols of Rajawade : all sorts of papers huddled together. I have prepared for my own use my own classification for each Vol. of Rajawade. I am following a similar plan for these files also. If R. B. Barve & the authorities do not accept my plan and insist upon noting down each paper separately (more or less like the contents of Martin's 5 vols of Wellesley Dispatches) I shall want your considered opinion to guide me. You will observe that the plan in the Wellesley Dispatches will not suit here ; for Martin does not specify the contents of each paper. He mentions the writer, the addressee & the dates only.

These Residency Records are of immense value for the declining phase of the Marathas & deserve being studied carefully. I am indicating some of the most important papers, to be selected & printed : if the chaff is omitted, some ten vols (of 500 pp each) will give to the public, the most salient contents of the 100 typed files. I am as eager to publish these selections as I am about the Marathi papers. In fact we have very few Marathi political papers in the Peshwa Daftar, between 1772-1818 : for Parasnis got Nana F's Daftar in tact : & Bajirao II's incapacity did not leave behind him anything useful. On this account I am impatient about the immediate publication of these British Records.

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Kamshet
7. 6. 1931

Your letter of 24th May giving your views on the Residency Records. The more I read them, the more do I become impatient to print selections of them: they are so very valuable, indeed more important than the Maratha Records we are printing. Franks has left charge & I prepared a detailed list of which I enclose you a copy for your perusal. I have already submitted it to the Comn. with my remarks, which I hope you will approve. There are heaps more of loose English bundles, which, if time permits, deserve being minutely looked into. A mere cursory glance which Franks gave them would be of no use. Franks or any scholar for the matter of that cannot deal with these papers properly unless he has close working acquaintance with names & events of Maratha History. For the murder of Gangadhar Shastri[1] is yet an unexplored episode; the Baroda records prove that the murder was prompted from Baroda & had no reference to Bajirao or Trimbakji.[2] In these papers we get daily account & reports sent in by Elphinstone & the Governor of Bombay. In fact I feel I cannot publish my *Bajirao II* until I study all these papers. But where is the time!

Alienation Office Poona
11. 6. 1931.

I had a full talk with the Commissioner today. He seemed extremely annoyed over the present financial embarrassment of the Govt. & felt afraid our work wd. come to an end by the end of July; & asked me roundly to be prepared for the worst & utilize what little time there is yet before, in closing the various operations, so as to leave nothing unattended to. I urged it upon him, that if the object of stopping the work be only the difficulty of money, we may be allowed to collect funds by subscriptions : but the work shd. not be closed for want of money. Then he asked me to send him a proposal to that effect & undertook to forward it to Govt. for consideration.......

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[1] Gangadhar Shastri, sometime clerk in the Peshwa's office, was the ambassador of Baroda Government and visited Poona in 1814 on behalf of his Government to settle money dispute with the Peshwa to whom the Gaikwads owed tribute amounting to crores of rupees. The negotiations, however, failed and the Shastri was murdered on 20 July 1815 at the instance of Peshwa Baji Rao II and Trimbakji Dengle. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, III, 441-61.)

[2] Trimbakji Dengle was a Maratha Patil of Nimbgaon Jali and a personal attendant of Baji Rao II. He was high in the confidence of Baji Rao who always turned to him for guidance and support in a difficult and delicate situation. He absconded after the murder of Gangadhar Shastri, but was detected by the British in July 1818 and banished to Chunar near Banaras where he died on 10 November 1829. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, III, 451-65, 470-71, 481, 508.)

Kamshet
21. 10. 1931.

I wish to know the date of Trimbakji Dengles's death at Chunargad,[1] where he was deported & confined towards the end of 1818, after Bajirao's retirement to Bithur.[2] Bishop Heber[3] writing in 1824 mentions having visited Trimbakji and describes his character and occupation.

Bombay
22. 11. 1931.

Shri Khase saheb Pawar Home member Gwalior is here...Khase saheb told me that Parasnis is handing over 45 copies of English letters, which forms the 1st vol. of the series. I said the English vol. could not contain letters: we must wait until the book is in his hand actually.

He however asked me to request you to try & spend about 3 days at Gwalior any time convenient to you in the near future. He has recently received valuable addition of historical papers in Persian from some old families & is anxious to ascertain their worth. Among other papers there are Mahadji Sindhia's Persian Diaries. I think it would be convenient to you to go to Gwalior from Aligad or Allahabad & spend a few days in organising the Gwalior research work. He also said that Bhalerao's Collection was now ready for inspection. He is writing to Mr. K. B. Dongre, Inspector General of Records Gwalior, to put you up as a State guest if you should visit the place & to put the papers at your disposal. I think you can finish this business before arriving in Bombay.

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[1] Chanar or Chunargarh is 26 miles south-west of Banaras and 20 miles east of Mirzapur in U P. It has a fort built on a hill of Vindhyan range. Its fortification bears a testimony to the splendid masonary workmanship of the time. It is said that this fort was built by Bharati Nath, the king of Ujjain who was a brother of Vikramaditya, on this secluded wooded rock as a site for his hermitage. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, III, 346)

[2] Bithur is situated on the western bank of the river Ganga, 12 miles north-west of Kanpur in U.P., known for its Brahm Ghat, built by Raja Tikait Rai minister of Ghazi-ud-din Haider, Nawab of Oudh and its bathing festivals. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, III, 19-20.)

[3] Heber, Reginald, was appointed the Bishop of Calcutta in 1822. He travelled through the whole of India and visited Trimbakji on 11 September 1824. He wrote an account of his journeys in his *Journey through India, from Calcutta to Bombay, with Notes upon Ceylon and the Southern Provinces*. He died at Trichinopoly on 3 April 1826. (*Concise Dictionary of National Biography*, 596; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, III, 508 *f.n.*)

Kamshet
9. 2. 1932

Poona people are unnecessarily lavish in their terms of address—turning every ordinary man into a Saheb—Tatya Saheb [.] Nana Saheb, Baba Saheb &c. This is the peculiar characteristic of the Poona school of hollow praise. Mere "Nana" & "Baba" are the most endearing terms so far as Marathi is concerned. So pray don't change me into a Saheb. Ram Shastri[1] scolded once a messenger who came & delivered a message to him from "Nana Saheb"—referring to Nana Fadnis. The Shastri replied "Nana Saheb is dead & how could he send me a message." He ridiculed the messenger for calling Nana Fadnis a Saheb.

Kamshet
12. 2. 1932.

Your list of printed chronology 1739-1754 is indeed admirable & is of immense help for us here in our work. You must have already noticed the important document the very first in the Ist vol. of Rajwade yielding the *Chowthai* to the Marathas. The document was completed just before the elder Ghazi-uddin[2] started for the Deccan in the autumn of 1752. The date of that document shd. be some day in June of that year. Can you fix it & let me know ?

I also wish to know the order or the reference, issued by Aurangzeb for pulling down temples & breaking idols—daily or monthly so many—of which I think we spoke when you were here last.

Alienation Office
Poona
9. 4. 1932

I am extracting useful details from the Peshwas Diaries elucidating several missing points. The early movements of Bajirao [,] his participation in the fight at Sakharkhedla (Septr 1724) & his movements before Palkhed (Feb 1728) are now cleared. Palkhed is about 25 miles due n. e of Nasik. In this connection, please read letters 47-53—particularly no 50 of selections 10 (early strife bet Bajirao & the Nizam). Can you say if all the dates are correct, particularly of Nos. 51-53 ? Can you find fuller details of this campaign in Persian or English ?

---

[1] Ram Shastri was the Chief Justice of the Maratha State and died on 20 October 1789. (Sardesai. *New History of the Marathas*, II, 493-94, 545 ; III, 28, 30-31,279.)

[2] Ghazi-ud-din, the elder, son of Nizam-ul-mulk was born in 1710 and acted as the wazir of Delhi and the Mughal Governor of Agra and Malwa for some time. He was poisoned by Nizam Ali's mother in October, 1752. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 80, 157, 195, 322, 324.)

The Peshwas Diaries mention the stiff action of Palkhed in which Bajirao sustained heavy casualties. A long list of killed Sardars is given. It seems, had not Bajirao joined the Nizam against Mubariz Khan, the former would not have won the day. It was till now supposed that Bajirao remained neutral. We have to construct this portion of Bajirao's move & explain why he & Sha[h]u joined the Nizam & not Mubariz Khan.

Kamshet
2. 5. 1932

In one paper we find a sentence like this : Karim beg, the Doga† or Bega† of Junnar is an influential person to be reckoned with, and we must put the proper construction upon it. †this word distinctly shows an office—it may in Modi read बेग or बेगा ; or दोग or दोगा. Kindly elucidate this point.

The *sanad* of Poet Parmanand's sons is dated 23. 4. 1716—the sons' names are Shridhar & Deva-datta—the Inam villages are given by Rajasbai[1] of Kolhapur & the villages are also from that district.

What is the correct pronunciation of Zabeta[2] (जाब्ता खान, झबेत खान) son of Najib Khan ?

So pray consider all such points & give us your experience & guidance without loss of time. We are in earnest & precious time is passing ; so please don't let your little grandson interfere with urgent matters which I have referred to you.

---

[1] Rajasbai was Chhatrapati Rajaram's wife. She gave birth on 23 May 1698 to Sambhuji II who received the kingdom of Kolhapur from Shahu in 1731. She died on 26 April 1751. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 330, 342; II, 23, 91, 94, 117, 119-122.)

[2] Zabitah Khan was the eldest son of Najib-ud-daulah Rohilla. He was installed in the office of Mir Bakhshi [Head of the Army] on 29 December 1770. In administrative and political matters he fell far short of his illustrious father and died on 21 January 1785. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, III, 46-85, 129-62; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 510, 516-17; III, 146)

Kamshet
14.5.1932

You have supplied me a very good account of the campaign bet. Bajirao & the Nizam in 1727-28 from *Hadiqat-ul-Alam* vol. 2. It deserves to be printed somewhere. Have I your permission to present it to the B. I. Mandal at its forthcoming annual gathering bet. 27-29 inst. If so, please let me have a line to that effect. It will then appear in their Quarterly. I am contributing some 20 original letters of Shivaji's time referring to the Mouni Bervel's *math* at Patagam[1] at the same meeting.

Alienation Office Poona
25.6.1932

You will be glad to know that 1st. vol. of Sindhia letters (no 1—151) printed by Parasnis has been traced.

* * *

Dr. Balkrishna of Kolhapur has issued his first vol. of "*Shivaji the Great*"—dealing with the career of Shahji. He has made free use of the Mudhol *firmans* & constructed what appears to be a correct genealogy of the Bhosles from the time of Alauddin Khilji with full details of each person—Mudhol & Shivaji families are said to be representatives of the same branch: they bifurcated in the 16th century. Another point made out by Balkrishna is the full & detailed career of Shahji which he has constructed, mainly relying on Parmanand & Jayram in addition to Mudhol *firmans*. I have read the vol through—it is published by Taraporevalla. I should wish that you see the book at once, if you have not already seen it. You had the Mudhol *firmans* already & if they are indeed of such a value as to supply unquestioned material for constructing a line of the ancestors of the Bhosles for over 300 years, they would mark a distinct advance in research. But I doubt how far Balkrishna is correct & to what extent he has succumbed to the wishes entertained by the Raja of Mudhol. If there be any hoax in it, it ought to be speedily exposed. Otherwise all that matter will go down as accurate & unchallenged history in the eyes not only of the Poona School of noisy history but outside also. Balkrishna derives Bhosle from Bahiravji or from भास्वत् कुल. The latter is clearly a Sanskritized form or भोसले. Let me know what you think of the performance. My mind is just now in the Peshwa Daftar & I have no time to sift Shahji.

---

[1] Patagam was a small zamindari 16 miles north-east of Chamursi in the District Chanda of the old Central Provinces. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XI, 223.)

A. O. Poona
7 July 1932.

At the instance of the Comr. I have again sent round my begging bowl to some minor Chiefs of the Deccan. Rs. 200 have come from Malkapur (Chief of Vishalgad): further instalments are coming from Aundh[1] & Ichalkaranji.[2] I met Mr. Shivgaokar here today & he is trying to send in Rs. 500 early in August. The Comr. desires that the deficit of ten thousand shd. be somehow made up.

Kamshet
16.7.1932

I have read your three Patna lectures & find them very instructive. You don't seem to have touched the strife between Peshwa Balajirao & Raghuji Bhosla in Malwa about September 1742, before they extended their operations into Bihar & Bengal. Possibly that is out of the subject you had chosen.......

Poona
26.7.1932.

Your letter to hand, re Patiala.[3] I think you need not move in that matter just yet. We need Rs 9692 to reach end of Feby next. We have in hand Rs 7750 ; & about 2000 more are promised & are expected in a month or two. I will tell you if at all our operations are going to be cut short for funds. We have further undertakings for which possibly we may need funds.

Thanks for your corrections in Section 15. We are sending the index to the press shortly & will send you proofs.

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[1] Aundh was a small state in the District of Satara, Bombay Province.

[2] Inchalkaranji or Ichalkaranji was an important estate in the old Kolhapur Raj. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, VIII, 284.)

[3] Patiala was founded by Alha Singh about the middle of the eighteenth century. Later on it developed into the capital of a flourishing state of the same name, and occupied premier position in the Cis-Sutlej territory. (Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, I, 133; Ross, *The Land of the Five Rivers and Sindh*, 229-30; Douie, *The Panjab, North-West Frontier Province and Kashmir*, 271-4, 354.)

Alienation Office Poona
20.9.1932

(2) I personally compared letter no 14 of *Selection* 14 with the original. The word मेडते has occurred twice & is perfectly clear.

We feel certain that the date of this letter is 31. 3. 1736 & not 1734, for various reasons. No. XIV. 56, XIII. 4a mention the same expedition, into Marwar where Merta is situated, under the joint command of Sindia & Holkar, at a time when the Peshwa had a friendly meeting with Jai Singh. Letter XIV. 14 is addressed to the Peshwa by Sinde & Holkar when the Peshwa is not far off. Peshwas' Diaries do not mention Bajirao having gone to the north at all in 1734. He went to the north in 1736. This is supported by Irvine II & Oz[jh]a's राजपूतां का इतिहास. वैशाख शु.१ for 1736 doubtless falls on Thursday & not on Monday. But we very often find that सोमवार (Monday) & सौम्यवार (Wednesday) are confused by Marathi writers. The word appears a bit scratched in the original: there is often a day's difference in our calendar here. We have therefore decided the date of the letter to be in 1736 & feel we are right.

We are all thankful therefore that you have taken so much pains to clear this & similar points. We are doing our best to leave no fault under the conditions we are in.

Poona,
5. 11. 1932

If you have not made use of पुरंदरे दफ्तर Pt I printed by the Mandal, in your Mug[h]al History, please do read that very valuable vol. It has many useful letters about Raghuji's doings in Bengal.

Poona
3. 12. 1932

I have received & read the report on the Modi *rumals* at the Tanjore Palace Library sent by Profr Nilakanthan. It is quite disappointing. The oldest paper in those *rumals* is dated 1763. These *rumals* were lying at the District Judge's Court & have recently been transferred to the Library. The report is with me.

Alienation Office
27 Feb. 33

I am translating your paper on the life of Najib-ud-daula and will finish it in about a week's time. I think this is a most valuable addition to the sources of the Panipat campaign and must appear somewhere in a permanent form. I suggest that it should be printed in the volume of the *Aitihasik Patravyavahara* which is going to be shortly completed. The whole matter would be about 32 printed Marathi pages and can very well go in as the concluding piece. This course will add to the value of the volume and will help its sale. If I print it in stray magazine elsewhere it will not be available to students in a permanent form. Kindly let me have your consent.

Your English version mentions a Maratha Sardar named Bhure. I know you asked me at Kamshet to identify this man. Referring to the Marathi papers I find that in all those incidents in which Bhure is mentioned, a Maratha Sardar of the name of Bhoite (नाइकजी भोइटे) occurs in Marathi papers. Please refer to the original and ascertain whether Bhure (भुरे) could be a corruption of Bhoite. There is a Maratha Sardar belonging to Holkar named Buḷe (बुळे) but I do not think that he can be identified with Bhure.

Malvan
9. 5. 1933

After all I have been able to visit this place & see the fort Sindhu Durg of Shivaji yesterday...... ...this place is rather warm, situated on the beach of the West coast. The situation of Sindhu Durg is very romantic & the fort is surrounded by dangerous sea-rocks.

21/7/33.

The reference to Malharrao Holkar advising Dattaji Shinde[1] & Jankoji Shinde[2] not to molest Najib, since the Peshwas would in that case make him wash their *Dhotirs* & would collect revenue from Attock to Rameshvar by their mere *Jasuds,* occurs on p. 41 & 42 of Bhau Sahib's *Bakhar* which I now find is most authentic & true in almost every word, as it corroborates in important details the account given in your life of Najib Khan. The story of the Peshwas *Dhotirs* is repeated, tho not in so many words, in several newsletters also. I found this reference after I posted my letter this morning.

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[1] Dattaji Sindhia, the executive head of the Sindhia's army and affairs in the north was the son of Ranoji Sindhia and brother of Jayapa. He was a 'rough impatient hustling soldier'' (Sarkar) and perished in a fight with Najib Khan at Barari Ghat on 10 January 1760. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II, 182-86, 193-213, 215-224, Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 353, 363, 403-12.)

[2] Jankoji Sindhia was the son of Jayapa Sindhia. He took part in numerous campaigns and was killed in the Third Battle of Panipat. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 333, 384, 386, 402, 411, 443, Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II, 182, 350.)

Raghunath Yadav[1] gives a graphic story of Bhau Sahib's negotiations with Abdali—quite authentic.

Kset
21/7/1933

[Place not given]
28.8.33.

The following points to be cleared :—

1. When was Chandbibi murdered—exact date ? D. V. Apte mentions 1603 A. C.—which I think is wrong. It was after her murder that Ahmadnagar was captured by Akbar in 1600.

2. Apte mentions that Mahabat Khan[2] who captured Daulatabad on 17. 6. 1633, died on 6. 11. 1634 in the Deccan, quoting Elliot 7.45, for his authority. Is this correct ? Did not Aurangzeb employ Mahabat Khan[3] against Shivaji in 1671 ? In *'Shivaji & his Times'*, you mention Mahabat Khan's death in 1672. Were these two Khans of the same name ? Mahabat Khan also figured in the Deccan against Malik Ambar.

3. In the Jamar papers which we have printed from the Peshwa Records, a paper is published dated 1675 being the letter of a grant by Sharifji Raje Bhosle,[4] evidently the brother of Shahaji—for that name does not occur anywhere else in the Bhosle family : while *Shiva Bharat*

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[1] Raghunath Yadav was a clerk in the Peshwa's office and wrote an account of the Third Battle of Panipat in Marathi two years after that event. (Sardesai, *Main Currents of Maratha History*, 149.)

[2] This refers to Shah Jahan's General. For his account see G. S. S. to J. N. S. dated 15 November 1928.

[3] This refers to Aurangzeb's general and is to be distinguished from his namesake who committed suicide on 26 October 1634. He was appointed to the supreme command in the Deccan in November 1670. Later he was transferred to Afghanistan, but he died on the way. (Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 182-85; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 197.)

[4] Sharifji gave active support to his brother, Shahji, in the battle of Bhatavadi. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 55.)

mentions Sharifji as having been killed in the battle of Bhatavdi in 1624 Novr. I am now detecting many errors of fact in the *Shiva Bharat*.

4. I have recently studied the शिवचरित्रनिबंधावलि that is the detailed construction of the various parts of Shivaji's life which the Poona Tercentenary Celebration Committee prepared in 1930 through many scholars. They have used all the sources that were available to them & interpreted many. For instance, they maintain that Mohammad Adilshah approved the doings of Shivaji & Dadaji Kondadev. In this connection the *Firman* which you obtained at Kosi[1] is a good answer. In that paper the Adilshah declares Dadaji his enemy. Please tell me where you have printed that *Firman*. It deserves to be published in Marathi.

Kamshet
28. 8. 1933.

My main object is to communicate to non-Marathi India what the Maratha mind has been thinking. Hence I have included in the treatment long discussions about Maharastra Dharma, Shivaji's aims & other topics of a like nature. दिल्लींद्रपदलिप्सवः I perfectly understood to be what you interpret. I wish to convey the main idea that there was a general craving throughout the country for religious toleration & full personal liberty of conscience, of which Aurangzeb in particular deprived the nation so wantonly. Aurangzeb's persecution of Yashvant Singh roused the same indignation in the Rajput mind which actuated Shivaji in the South. Ala-uddin's doings & the doings of the Mussalmans against Vijayanagar created deep indignation throughout : & there was a general desire for Hindu Empire for India. But apart from this, I wish to impart to all foreign readers what many writers & scholars in Maharastra have said. I can certainly avoid my own responsibility for such views by giving a slightly different turn to the expressions used. By the verse दिल्लींद्रपदलिप्सवः I can say that some scholars have asserted that there was a general craving for a Hindu Empire for India and so on. In this respect I have not concealed what the Moslems thought and felt about the Maratha doings. I have purposely given in one of the papers a translation of some important words put into the mouth of Ahmadshah Abdali by the writer of a *bakhar* on Panipat...........

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[1] Kosi is 29 miles north-west of Mathura. It is the head-quarters of the Kosi tahsil of the Mathura District of U.P. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, VIII, 300.)

Kamshet
23. 9. 1933

I do not find any contemporary mention of Palkhed. The only paper that helps us to determine the movements of the Nizam is No. 50 of P. D. Selec. 10. Peshwa Balajirao's Diary does not mention the place and omits one month as you say. In our extracts from the Peshwas' Diaries, we start from about Oct 1728. Palkhed is I think about 8 miles n. of Niphed[1] & I find another Palkhed, 2 miles s. of Dindori : but I cannot believe any of these lie on the route of the Nizam so far west of Aurangabad.[2] Palkhed now is known for its canal from Dindori. But Rajavade's vol. 2 (P. 56) Shakavali & the Shakavli of Parasnis in *Bharat Varsha* (vol. 2) mention it (3rd. line under 1128 p. 7—पानखेड—the न is a misprint for ल. Duff does not mention the place & apparently all contemporary papers mention places of the West Godavari region bet. नगर, औरंगाबाद &c. *P. D. Selection* 10. 52 mentions जोगिणी. These are goddesses which are alluded to in many places & which no Maratha sardars neglected to visit or to go round. I do not know where exactly these are—on some high peak—possibly near अणकाईटणकाई or आवळा खळा. The कासारवारी, चांदवड, मनमाड are all mentioned & the places where the Nizam was brought to bay must be in the region s. w. of औरंगाबाद.

Kamshet
23. 10. 1933

Can you kindly tell me when & how Netaji Palkar was coverted to be a Muhammadan & where can I find the details of his life between 1665-75 ? Similarly I wish to know if Daud Khan Khureshi, who fought with Shivaji at Chandwad[3] after the 2nd loot of Surat is the same Daud Dhan who is styled Panni in Maratha papers, & who figured later in the Deccan after Aurngzeb's death.

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[1] Niphed is 20 miles north-west of Nasik. It is the head-quarters of the Niphed sub-division of the Nasik District, Bombay. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, X, 337.)

[2] Aurangabad is situated on the banks of a small perennial stream called Kahm, 68 miles from Ahmadnagar, and 175 miles from Bombay. It was founded by the celebrated Malik Ambar, the Regent of the Nizam Shahi kingdom of Ahmadnagar. It is a place of historical importance having great monuments in its neighbourhood.

[3] *Chandwar or Chandor* is situated 40 miles north-east of Nasik. It was founded by Holkar in 1763. It stands at a height of 4,300 ft. The town has a fort which was not easily accessible. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, III, 360.)

Kamshet
28. 12. 1933

I find the *Bakhar* Shivadigvijaya quotes long passages from Shivaji's letters to his brother now proved to be entirely authentic. They cannot be rejected as apocryphal, as a facsimile of them in Balaji Avgi's[1] hand is pubished. I therefore feel beyond doubt that Shiva-digvijaya, shorn of its flourishes, which can be easily detected, has a great substratum of truth in it & cannot be rejected as worthless. It was very likely written in 1718 by Khando Ballal.

Jedhe mentions that Dilir Khan took poison in the same month as Aurangzeb arrived at Ahmadnagar (i.e. 13. 11. 1683) *Aurangzeb Vol. IV* p. 366. Why have you not mentioned this end of Dilir Khan in your History? Or have I failed to notice it? Please let me know why Dilir suffered in the Emperor's estimation when he had served so loyally all along.

Kamshet
30. 1. 1934

Glad to learn that you have discovered a life of Mahadji Sindia. I will render your English translation into Marathi, if you send me a copy. I am also in need of the early life of Najib-ud-daula. Kindly make it available to me.......

Kamshet
24. 4. 1934

Our friend Mr. Khandekar has offered a donation of Rs 200 for the Peshwa Daftar work.......

Kamshet
26. 4. 1934.

Messrs Chandorkar & Bavdekar have recently brought out a useful little volume reproducing the handwritings of several Maratha characters of historical times and have now published a line in Shivaji's own hand and two Balbodh lines of his son Sambhaji. You may have heard of Mr. Chandorkar before. He was once entrusted with the work of catalog[u]ing the Mandal records, but had to quit the Mandal as he was not trusted. Mr. Bavdekar is the present descendant of the famous Babuji Naik[1] & is an *Inamdar*. Both the gentlemen are ardent students of Maratha History. Mr. Chandorkar recently worked for three months at the A. O. & studied the various hanwritings. Mr. Bavdekar is anxious to write & publish a full life of Babuji Naik. I take interest in this work & help them with advice as much as I can.

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[1] Balaji Avji was the confidential secretary of Shivaji He was a shrewd diplomat and devoted servant. He was executed by Shambhuji in October 1681 for plotting against his life. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 118-19, 128, 167, 180, 209, 231, 293, 295.)

One main point they established in this book is they reproduce a line in the actual handwriting of Shivaji, page 1 viz वहुत लिहिणे तरी तुम्ही सुज्ञ असा.

They have sifted the various methods of concluding official letters and proved that the Chhatrapatis, Shivaji & all his successors, concluded their official letters with this same line. Similar letters with the same concluding line have been already printed in *Sanads* & Letters, *Rajwade* vol 15, सत्का०सभा vol. 9 & elsewhere. They came to Kamshet & spent a day with me discussing the question & verifying it from the different sources. They are ready & anxious to put before you for your dispassionate judgment all that they claim to prove & with this object they are sending you the volume. I wish you will give your best attention to it.

I wish to know if you are aware of any such places as शोणाचल, श्रीमुष्णा, वृध्दगिरि, रुक्म &c. which are mentioned in the प्रशस्ति composed by Raghunath Pandit Hanmante[2] (see p. 143—verse 80 of *Shiva-Charitra-Pradip*). शोणाचल may possibly be सोनगिरि. वृध्पगिरि is evidently वृध्दाचल wh. Shivaji visited in his expedition to Tanjore.

I have not been able to follow the two verses 76 & 77. It seems the conception of the राजव्यवहारकोश was originally of Raghunath, who had it ready with him & showed it to Shivaji in 1677 at Tanjore. Raghunath's family was the कुलोपाध्यायs of the Bhosles. He was anxious to be made the

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[1] Babuji Naik, Joshi of Baramati, was the brother of Abaji who was married to a sister of Baji Rao I. He had the support of Chhatrapati Shahu and obtained from him lands at Baramati. He "was in many ways a singular personality bound in relationship with the Peshwa's house. He witnessed the regimes of six consecutive rulers." (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 147, 157, 207, 214, 259, 292, 297, 176, 493.)

[2] Raghunath Narayan Hanmante, the author of the *Rajavyavahar Kosha*, was the son of Naro Trimal Hanmante. He faithfully served Shahji and Ekoji. Shivaji once remarked: "We look upon you fully in the place of our revered parent and cannot too highly estimate yourservices." (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, 1, 214, 228-29, 239, 243-44, 299.)

अमात्य at Raigad: but Ramchandra Nilkanth was already there: so Shivaji gave him the Govt. of Jinji. The राजव्यवहारकोश was composed by ढुंढराज लक्ष्मण व्यास (see verse I of the उपसंहार p. 175). Carefully studied[,] this composition yields some bits of useful information.

Kamshet
5.5.1934

Your *life of Malik Ambar* is of immense service to me. It definitely establishes the desertion of Jadhavrao & Kate[1] & Udaram[2] to the Mughals in 1614 before the battle of Patan on Sunday 25th Bahman. Kate Babaji is the Kaith or Kaitha of Jahangir's autobiography. One can now well trace the antipathy of the Bhosles to the Jadhavs.

Can you kindly, if possible at once, tell me the exact English date corresponding to Sunday 25 Bahman of A.C. 1614 & also where Patan or the river of that name is (P.638 of your paper in *Ind Hist Quart.*) We have practically travelled through this region. Shah Nawaj Kh. burnt Khadki[3] & returned to Balapur through Rohinkhed. Patan therefore shd be somewhere between Aurangabad & Fardapur[4]. But the maps don't mention Patan at all. It cannot be Paithan. Mhaldar Khan, Mustapha Kh., Mirza Minuchihr & others are common names given by *Shiva Bharat* & the Persian writers. We can push on the research of this dark period to a distinct stage forward......

Kamshet
15.5.1934

Sonagiri or Songad[5]-where Rivington[6] & others were confined is not the Songad of the Baroda State but a small fort near Raigad, three miles north west of Mahad, Kolaba Dist. But the शोणाचल of verse 80 of the रा. छं. को प्रशस्ति might be कनक गिरि where Sambhaji, Shahji's son was killed.

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[1] Vide Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 49-50.

[2] Udai Ram was formerly an officer of Malik Ambar. (Beni Prasad *History of Jahangir*, 242, 305, 310, 316, 317 333 : Sardesai *New History of the Marathas*, I. 48-49, 50.)

[3] Khadki or Khirki was a small village 7 miles south of Daulatabad and was chosen by Malik Ambar as the new capital of the Nizam Shahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar before 1616. The site was later on chosen by Aurangzeb for founding the city of Aurangabad in 1636. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 44-49.)

[4] The village of Fardapur is situated on the Aurangabad-Ajanta Road. It is 4 miles from the Ajanta pass. *(Imperial Gazetteer of India*, IV, 392.)

[5] Songad now a small village but once a flourishing town is situated 45 miles east of Surat. *(Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XIII, 60 ; *Cambridge History of India*, IV, 381)

[6] Ravington, the chief of the English factory of Rajapur, and three other factors were taken into captivity by Shivaji in 1661. The charge against them was that they had actively supported the Bijapur commander, Siddi Jauhar, who was besieging Shivaji in the fort of Panhala in 1660. They were released in February 1663. (Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 335-38.)

Where is वलण Valan where Jedhe says रघुनाथ हणमंते died. It is in Maharastra.

Kamshet
30.5.1934

Gangadhar killed at Delhi fort on 27.7.1760 must be Gangadhar Baji Retrekar. Baji Retrekar was beaten by Sadat Khan[1] in 1737 & his letters have been printed in *P.D.* You will find Gangadhar Baji mentioned in the index vol of *P.D* several times. I think Pilaji Jadhav's son Sambhaji was killed at Panipat. But am not sure. I am glad you are re-editing Kashiraj's *bakhar*. His correct name is Keshiraj. (see *P.D.* 2. 148). Sadashiv Pandit (Rawlinson's Sendur) must be Sadashiv Ballal Phadke, brother of Haripant.[2] C.S. Sirinivasachari writes श्रीमुष्ण, is a village having a great वैष्णव shrine, 18 miles west of चिदंबर; & शोणाचल is तिरुवन्नमलाइ a taluk in north Arcot 24 miles west of Jinjee जिंजी.

Kamshet
14.6.1934

Recently I have thoroughly exd. the subject of Shivaji's birth date & am more than ever convinced about the old date being correct. I am putting my arguments in English & when completed I will send them to you. Let us then appear publicly fully armed & knock down this fad of the Poona school on the head.

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[1] Saadat Khan was a Persian from Naishapur. He first obtained service as the Faujdar of Hindaun and Biana under the Mughals and was transferred to Oudh in 1723. He fought many a battle against the Marathas and took poison when Nadir Shah, the Persian King, who had come to Delhi in 1739, rebuked him for his failure to procure for him 20 crores of rupees. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 37, 147, 152, 165, Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, 55, 134-35. 363-64.)

[2] Haripant Phadke, the Maratha general, was a devoted and loyal servant of the State. He died on 19 June 1794. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 540. III, 24, 25, 27, 49-51, 105, 131, 186-194, 237-242, 308 *Main Currents of Maratha History*, 152, 206; Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, IV, 401.)

Kamshet
8. 7. 1934

I have now started work on Rajaram & realize the excellent services you have rendered to Maratha history. Some of your chapters, particularly chapter I of your vol. V is worth its weight in gold. I have never read anything more ennobling, more reasoned & more thoughtful. The language itself is highly eloquent. You have analysed Aurangzeb most impartially & critically. Although I had read the book before, it is one thing to read it casually & quite another to read it with a specific purpose. Sambhaji & Rajaram you have practically constructed anew. I do not know where wd. Maharastra have been but for your tremendous labours.

Damodar Hingne died in 1757 at Zanshi (see *Rajvade* I. 63 p. 113). His brother Bapuji was living in 1761. I should like to have a copy of Kashirai's correct rendering if that is going to appear anywhere separately.

Alienation Office Poona
3. 12. 1934

I shall look out for the missing documents in Malet's Correspondence. We have no outward files for the two years 1788 & 89 : are they available there at all ? It is a big gap in the affairs of Poona. Will you kindly tell me if in Mahadji's papers you have come across any document mentioning the attitude of Mahadji towards the subject of the Marathas humbling Tipu with the English help. Malet mentions that Haripant Phadke was not in favour of the triple alliance agst Tipu ; & Parsharam Bhau[1] was selected to the Maratha command, because he had suffered most from Tipu's aggressions. Malet's tone begins gradually to rise towards Nana whom he soon compelled to submit to his will. Nana began to feel this but could not retract. I should like to have for this vol. of Tipu any documents illustrating the attitude of Mahadji.

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[1] Parashuram Bhau Patwardhan was an experienced soldier and was appointed to the chief command against the Nizam in March 1795. He died in a fight with the Kolhapur Chhatrapati on 17 September 1709. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, III, 108, 131, 186-90, 295, 296-97, 314-15, 323, 327, 344-45.)

Alienation Office
Poona I
14th December 1934

Malet, I find, is a powerful writer, an imperialistic enthusiast wielding a powerful pen. Some of his writings can almost be called classic. He often grows eloquent like his contemporary, Burke. His first file well illustrates my impressions. But what I deplore most is, that similar files of his despatches to G. G. for some of the following years are not forthcoming here. Malet's letters to the Governors of Bombay & Madras & to the Residents of various places are short, & business like and contain little that can be called political or historical. Therefore it is, I think most essential that Malet's letters to the G. G. for the years 1787, 1788, 1789, 1792-93, 1794, 1795 & 1796 should be recovered & edited by any means. They are bound to be to be [*slip of the pen. Ed.*] most important historically. There is not a single letter of Malet here for 1787 to the Governor General.

Alienation Office Poona
16. 1. 1935

File no 20 outward contains letters from Malet to Sir John Shore, all quite important : but it seems Malet did not feel the same regard for Shore as he did for Cornwallis & hence his letters to the former are brief & rigidly official. Malet did not fully endorse Shore's non-intervention policy & was superc[s]eded by Jonathan Duncan,[1] in the appointment to the Governorship of Bombay to which Malet aspired. He therefore resigned in disgust & refused to work in the Council of Jonathan Duncan Malet's last letter to Shore dated Poona 21. 2. 1797 is very eloquent but the last page of the file is missing in this collection & I shall be grateful if you can kindly supply the missing portion. Malet left Poona finally on 21. 2. 1797. I enclose the incomplete page for reference.

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[1] Duncan, Jonathan, was born on 15 May 1756. He was the Governor of Bombay from December 1795 to August 1811 and took a prominent part in the wars against Tipu and the Marathas. He died at Bombay in 1811. (Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, 126.)

Kamshet
2.5.1935

By the way, I strongly feel you must visit Raigad before you issue another edition of your *Shivaji*. I at least got quite a realistic view of Shivaji's life & work after my visit to that place. Sindkhed[1] & Pachad[2] are so immensely alike that one can realize how much Shivaji owed to his mother in all that he achieved. Pachad has big dilapidated palaces[,] wells & gardens of the same type that one meets with at Sindkhed under the Jadhavs. Raigad is easily approachable now from Poona or Kamshet with daily bus services running through to Mahad (100 miles) and on to Konzar, about 13 miles to the foot, where the ascent begins. The ascent is from 5 to 6 miles & will take quite three full hours to walk. I would like to go with you again if you think of a programme for it next time you happen to come to this side.

[Place not given. Ed.]
29.6.35

"During this period, therefore, the Maratha power made itself felt in Indian affairs, in the wars & diplomacy of Mahadji Sindhia in Hindusthan, which culminated in placing the Padishah of Delhi under Maratha tutelage (1788) &c."

[Extract from Sir Jadunath's draft introduction, p. 2 for the vol. of Mahadji Sindia].

I take exception to this statement. The Padishah had accepted Maratha tutelage since 1771 (Dec.) Mahadji merely revived the old position & that too in 1785 when the Padishah came of his own accord from Delhi & met Mahadji near Agra. In 1788 Gulam Kadar[3] was punished by Mahadji. In fact the Marathas made themselves responsible for the Mughal court since the treaty of 1752 : the position or undertaking was confirmed in 1771 & completed by Mahadji from 1785—1792. Mahadji's wars against the Rajputs were entirely in the interest of the Emperor.

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[1] The town of Sindhkhed is situated in the vicinity of Daulatabad in the Berar District of Bombay and it was the seat of the Jadhavs from which dynasty hailed Shivaji's mother. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XII, 526-27 ; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, 45.)

[2] Pachad or Pachora is 30 miles south-east of the Ajanta caves and the nearest railway station for them. It is 35 miles south-east of Dhulia. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. X, 522-23.)

[3] Ghulam Qadir was the son of Zabitah Khan Rohilla and grandson of the celebrated Najib-ud-daulah. The Mughal Emperor appointed him Mir Bakhshi and Regent on 5 September 1787. Unendowed with pity or shame, he inflicted unspeakable atrocities upon the royal family. He "had needles driven through the eyes of the Emperor", tortured the palace servants and dishonoured the princesses. At last he was captured by Mahadji and put to death in March 1789 by tortures which were "a faint echo" of what he had done. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, III, 134, 145, 396, 399, 430-446, 449-457, 465-70 ; IV, 8-9.)

Kamshet
5.8.1935

Can you kindly enlighten me as to what the Residents of Sindia & Peshwa mean by newspapers, to which they often refer in their writings. I suppose they mean the *akhbaras* [akhbarat] : but were these *akhbaras* available for the public ? I should like to know how news used to be supplied in those days in the absence of printed newspapers of our day.

Kamshet
25.11.1935

I have accepted to deliver four lectures in Marathi at Nagpur (Paranjhe memorial) next February & have elected to speak on Shivaji period (1627-1707), devoting 2 lectures to Shivaji & I each to Sambhaji & Rajaram. I shall feel much obliged if you can give me a few tips, so as to enable me to say something novel or striking. There is now hardly anything unsaid about Shivaji. I have to write the lectures beforehand. It is not the insignificant remuneration which attracts me (150 Rs only), but I did not like to decline a cordial invitation from the Vice-Chancellor.

Gagan Bavda
Via Kolhapur
30.12.1935

A curious but valuable find is a paper of specific terms dictated by Ram Chandra Pant to Shahu & accepted by the latter in his own handwriting. The paper bears no date. I will send you a copy of this paper soon. The paper has no date. Very likely it is 1708 : the point is why Shahu put greater confidence in or preferred as his guide Balaji Vishvanath to Ram Chandra Pant, an experienced & capable statesman. I wish to secure for this situation as much light on men & events from Persian sources after Aurangzeb's death.......

Kamshet
19. 6. 1936

Visaji Krishna's son's name is Mahipant Vishvanath, surnamed Binivale, a Karhada Brahman. He worked with Maratha forces against Tipu Sultan 1785-86. I do not know if he was *amil* of Panipat.

Sadashiv Dinkar is a Konknastha, surnamed Abhyankar (wh. is rather doubtful.) He was not a spy but an accredited agent of Nana Fadnis with Mahadji Sindia. He was trained under his predecessor Naro Shivdev—both competent & powerful writers, always defending Nana.

Kamshet
9. 7. 1936

At last I received a copy of yr. vol. yesterday & was delighted beyond measure. Although I had read your introduction before in proof, I was particularly impressed yesterday with the deep scholarship, clever arrangement of matter & the thought provoking treatment of the subject, which doubtless disclose the supreme craft of a master architect. Such contribution to history is indeed rare & will be I am sure everlasting. I often feel I am responsible to a great extent for launching you into this undertaking of the Poona Residency Records. You could possibly have utilised your time & labour better : but now that the result is before me, I am persuaded the work will in itself prove a valuable lesson in the study of history.......

Kamshet
3rd Septr. 1936

Several writers & speakers on this side have been declaring that recent research in Bengal proves that the Black Hole was a myth & that it was entirely a concocted affair. Such a report was current several years ago & you wrote to me then that Little & Holwell's writings conclusively prove that the tragedy was a fact. Can you tell me if there is any fresh discovery in Bengal about this subject & why it is again revived.

* * *

The itinerary of Ramchandra Ganesh[1] has been fully printed in *P. D. Selection* 29 pages 291-349. He is last mentioned on pages 320 & 326. But he was recalled by the dying Peshwa Madhavrao I. Soon after the Emperor's entry into Delhi on 25 Dec. 1771, he left the Maratha camp & returned to Deccan. He felt it a disgrace & became an ascetic & roamed naked in Poona. Khare's vol. 4 letters No 1185 & 1186 (P. 1904 & 1905) mention this incident, so that Ramchandra Ganesh was in Poona in July 1772. Visaji Krishna remained in charge at Delhi & was recalled after the murder of Narayanrao[1] (August 1773). The vast treasure he brought from the north fell into Raghoba's hands & enabled him to continue his opposition to the ministerial party.......

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[1] Ramchandra Ganesh had distinguished himself in war and diplomacy and was appointed by the Peshwa to direct the North Indian expedition in 1770, but was superseded by Visaji Krishna on 26 April 1771. He died fighting on 12 December 1780. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 367, 393, 509-11, 514-16, 527-29 ; III, 107 ; Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, III, 13-14, 32-35.)

Gopal Ganesh Barve had one son Govind. Govind's son Bajirao became more famous, as a staunch adherent first of Raghoba & then of his son Bajirao II.......

* * *

Kamshet
14. 10. 1936

I thought the old Vijayanagar region was proper for our joint tour. I have written to some friends. I propose to meet you at Hydarabad & then we shall settle. For research work it is better some local persons know our programme beforehand. Let me know what you wish. I can arrange a good tour into Northern Konkon[2]—Kaliyan Vajreshvari & Bassein[3] &c—all in a car which a gentleman is anxious to put at our disposal.

* * *

Kamshet
Dasara 25 Oct 1936

I am glad you will be on this side again soon, so that we can take stock of what has so far been achieved & what further plans can be formulated. I am also glad that you approve of visiting the Vijayanagar region. Your article on Shahji has been translated & will soon appear somewhere. I feel our differences are only verbal ; but such as they are

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[1] Narayanrao born on 10 August 1755 was the younger brother of Peshwa Madhavrao who died on 18 November 1772. He received the robes of Peshwaship on 13 December 1772 and was murdered at the instance of Raghunathrao on 30 August 1773. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 534, 540 ; III, 11-14, 23, 26.)

[2] Konkan :—"A name applied to Marathi-speaking lowland strip along the southern portion of Bombay presidency situated between the Western Ghats and the Sea." (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, VIII, 289.)

[3] The town of Bassein is situated 27 miles north of Bombay on the sea-shore, and is separated from the mainland by a strait. It is the chief town of the Bassein sub-division of the Thana District of Bombay. Its usefulness for shipping attracted the Portuguese and in 1534 Bahadur Shah of Gujrat hard pressed by Humayun ceded it to them. In 1536 the Portuguese built there a citadel which remained in their possession for nearly two centuries. In 1739 the town was captured by the Marathas and they lost it to the English finally in 1818. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, II, 191-92.)

I don't feel like giving up the positions I have been maintaining. I am hoping to find some tangible evidence for or against by an actual inspection of the region of Shahji's activities—Surapur,[1] (Wakinkheda) [,] Talikot, Mudgal,[2] Anagundi,[3] Gajendragad, Kampli,[4] Sandur,[5] Penukonda &c. Mr. B. V. Jadhav wishes to join us & we three can hire a car & run about for a few days quietly. I am trying to get into touch with some local people who would help us. I am not sure we can find much but anyway a new region will have been visited. You know they are celebrating the six Centenary of Vijayanagar foundation on the next X'mas day & I am anxious we finish our visit quietly before the bustle of the celebrations begins. Janjira & the Kalyan regions are also on hand. I am preparing the details to keep them ready for final approval when you arrive.

Girgaon, Bombay,
Date, 20 April 1937.

Ahalyabai was a woman of great parts & abilities, no doubt; but she was so parsimonious as re armaments & military matters in general, that she did not fully realize the danger of British aggression & did not co-operate wholeheartedly with Mahadji in this respect. But it was her sex which was to blame more in this connection. Tukoji[6] was brave enough personally but always played into the hands of his Brahman intriguers & had no will of his own. It was unfortunate that the house of the Holkars came to be one of divided power between a pious lady & a soldier given to drink. Your reading of the situation is indeed very true......

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[1] Surapur or Wakinkheda is a town in the Gulbarga District of the old Hyderabad State. It is 65 miles south-east of Bijapur.

[2] The town of Mudgal is 57 miles west of Raichur on a non-perennial rivulet in the Andhra State. The town and its forts played a great part in the history of Southern India during the Muslim rule. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, IX, 525.)

[3] Anagundi situated to the south of the Tungabhadra river in the Deccan was the head-quarters of the Narapathi dynasty in the fourteenth century. It again became the seat of some of the descendants of the last of the Vijayanagar rulers after his fall at the battle of Talikota in 1564. Its chiefs maintained their power for a century or so until they were overpowered by the rising states of Bijapur and Golkonda.

[4] The town of Kampli is situated on the Tungabhadra river 25 miles north-west of Bellary in the District of Bellary of the Mysore State. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, VII, 354.)

[5] Sandur was a chief's state in the Bellary District of the Mysore State. It was founded by Maloji Rao Ghorpade who was an officer of the Bijapur army. His son Biraj entered Shivaji's service. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XII, 206-209.)

[6] Tukoji Holkar was the chief executive servant of Ahalyabai. Though a brave and valiant soldier, he was inordinately addicted to drink and indulged in excessive licentiousness. He died in his camp at Poona on 15 August 1797. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, III, 205, 211, 330; Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, IV, 138-39.)

Kamshet
31. 5. 1937.

The Darjiling teas by way of present for the uncalled for Rao Bahadurship have arrived and have been highly welcomed by me, my wife & the doctor's family who are just now here for their annual sojourn. Our affairs are progressing satisfactorily. I wonder whether the initiative for Rao Bahadurship went from you. Anyway it will stick to me now for ever much against my will.

Kamshet P.
17. 6. 1937

I feel Rao Bahadur coming from you is tco ceremonious & loses the pleasure of homely intimacy. Coming from others also, it has never been welcome to me. I know whenever I have had to call on a Rao Bahadur at Poona or elsewhere, I always felt a kind of awe & strangeness & thought I was not going to meet an ordinary person like me. Anyway I am too old now to reconcile myself to such empty honours distinguishing one human being from another. Is it not a pleasant thought to feel, "dust thou are & to dust thou shalt go."

* * *

I have recently read a book a kind of autobiography by an English merchant, a servant in the E. I. Co. named Edward Carlyon. He was in India for 20 years 1664-1684 & the book was printed shortly after. It was much appreciated by James II & William III. It contains some striking glimpses of Shivaji & the Marathas and at least one long remarkable episode of Shivaji having attacked and killed one Khoja Bax, the keeper of a fort named Tajpur, & a trusted officer of Aurangzeb. The book is in old English with grammatical inaccuracies of those days but the edition I have read is a new one printed I believe about 50 years ago. The covering pages are lost. Tajpur is near Ujjain & it does not seem likely that Shivaji travelled to any place north of the Nermada in 1677. The writer is an admirer of Shivaji & a hater of Aurangzeb, the Portuguese & others. I wonder if you have known & read the book. I am writing a Marathi note of it.

Kamshet
18. 11. 1937.

I would draw your attention to the Sayeedia Library, Jam Bag where those old *Sanads* of Shahji are kept. Mr. Mohammad Ghause M.A.[,] LL[.]B. is the person through whom you can see the documents. This gentleman is a clerk under Mr. Khurshed Ali. I gathered the impression while at Hydarabad that much useful material of old history can be collected at that place. I wonder if you have visited the vast store of old papers owned by one Dr. Mohammad Kasim, Pathargaddi. It is well worth a visit.

Kamshet
7 March 1938

Your letter to hand together with the draft of this poor wretch's early life. What is all this! I altogether dislike the idea of a Commemoration vol. I have done nothing to deserve it. I have worked, as so many others have done, on my own account & with no idea of doing any service. There is no service at all. I have served myself. If my little humble work is appreciated that is enough reward & ample purse for me.......I am now publicly repudiating the affair. So many of my friends and others of high worth & reputation have been similarly trapped. This has pained me most & I feel awfully ashamed. The Satara[1] affair itself three years ago was an uncalled for affair & happily it is relegated to the past. I do not want any more ceremonies.

* * *

I am most serious of spending at least a month with you at Darjiling, whether Pissurlencar joins or not. I do it in my own interest. I long a change and wish to develop further avenues of work under your guidance.......

Kamshet
24 March 1938

I did not know you had tried so much to secure first-rate articles from most of our common friends for a volume to be issued on my birthday. What irritated me most, apart from my aversion to such memorials, was the public announcement in the papers for collecting contributions towards the presentation of a purse, a beggary for which Savarkars & all his kind have made themselves notorious.......

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[1] This refers to the conferment of a robe of honour on G.S. Sardesai by the Chhatrapati of Satara.

Powell Building
Bombay 4
Friday 10th June 1938.

We took Hindu meals at different places, which were handed into the train & were cheap & delicious. If one informs the guard in time, the meals come in punctually in large plates & brass cups which the men take away at the next station. This is now a permanent fixture on the railway lines & few people now resort to the costly dining car.

Kamshet P.
30 June 1938

I am so glad that you are given the rare chance of exploring the Jaipur records. I will join you immediately I get your wire.......

Kamshet
31 July 1938

In this connection our deliberations of the Kamshet week will prove a most desirable prelude, the more so on account of Shafaat Ahmad's move to fix his own function nearly at the same time, so that people will easily realize by comparison what is solid & what is hollow trash. Tikekar wrote to him to change his dates by two or three days. He has agreed to concede one day : Tikekar has now asked two days. Let us see what he ultimately fixes. Several gentlemen have signified their intention of spending a few days here & then proceed to Allahabad. But I have my own views in the matter. I think our object is essentially different from that of Allahabad. Paper reading, speech making & other advertising items are their mainstay : while we here will have quiet heart to heart talks, consultations & deliberations, throughout night & day as we sit together & devote practically all our time to the subject. We will handle only a few subjects, not ambitious spectacular plans for the world at large but practical items for those who wish to sit down & start work at once. A new school of argent [*evidently a slip of the pen. Ed.*] workers, young novices, is fast coming into being as in politics & we must encourage such workers & separate them from the old figure heads......

Kamshet P,
3 Septr '38

I notice one important point as re the history of the British period from the fall of the Peshwas onward—1818 to 1858,—viz that no Indian materials exist to corroborate or refute the plentiful British materials, however ably they may have been written. The Sepoy War is absolutely without any Indian view or version being offered for study, so possibly the Burmese & the Sikh & the Afghan Wars. Would it not be advisable to look for Indian sources for this whole period in order to check the British versions in all cases.......

Please inform me of the meaning of
Poraghur Battalion
in the accompanying proof by the returning post.

Is the word correct or does it require annotation ?

Kamshet
1. 12. 1938

Kamshet
4th January 1939.

There are a few letters of the time of Bajirao I explaining his part at the time of Nadir Shah's invasion. There was a suggestion that advantage shd. be taken of Nadir Shah's invasion & the humbled state of the Mughal fortunes : but Shahu prohibited the Peshwas from aspiring for the Crown of Delhi—his words are "पातशाही मोडन टाकल्यांत लौकिक नाहीं. छत्रपति पातशाही इच्छित नाहींत. जीर्णोद्धारकेल्यास संतोष मानतील, देवालयाचा जीर्णोद्धार नवीन लिंगाचे स्थापनेपेक्षां अधिकोत्तरआहे." There is no credit in pulling down the empire. Our king does not aspire for the imperial crown. He will be happy in resuscitating it. To repair an old temple is more meritorious than to build a new one." (no. 381). There are many important letters of Madhavrao I, of Raghoba, of Nana Fadnis, of Sakharam Bapu[1] & others, which reveal several new facts.

When Ramraja was supposed to be dying, Nana Fadnis urged him to adopt a son. He stoutly refused & said he was young enough to have children. Thereupon Nana asked his Satara agent, Baburao Apte, to persuade the Raja through his favourite barber and offer bribes and inams to the barber to bring about the desired object. Baburao Apte thereupon wrote a strongly worded dignified protest to Nana, pointing out the levity to which Nana as a great statesman was exposing himself by gaining one's aims through worthless menials. Baburao refused to carry out Nana's project & the latter had to eat an humble pie. (No. 375).

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[1] Sakharam Bapu served under Peshwas Balaji Baji Rao and Madhav Rao I. He was the chief organiser of the Barbhai Council which expelled Raghoba and installed Madhavrao Narayan in the Peshwaship. He was imprisoned for treason in 1779 and was removed to Raigad where he died on 2 August 1781. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 194, 259, 473, 478, 523, 550 ; III, 13, 14, 21, 27, 30-31, 39, 48, 59, 64, 85.)

You probably know that it was generally believed that Nana F. was too intimate with the widow of the murdered Narayanrao ; & that some believed that her premature death on 12 July 1777 was due to an enforced abortion. A contemporary letter dated 18 August following, mentions a plot formed by some members of the court to arrest and imprison Nana on the ground of domestic sinful accusations (कांहीं गृहकृत्याचा अभिश्राप—No 20). The popluar belief is supported in this letter.

Allahabad
17. 6. 1939.

Your carefully tied parcel of mangoes[,] bread & sweets served a delicious meal with milk and rice which I bought on the way at Madhurpur. It was so kind of you to have attended so carefully to the tying of the parcel, which kept it in a sound condition & the bread & butter lasted very well for this morning's tea also at Benares Cant.

Well, when the heart is full, the words are few & I could not say a good bye to you yesterday without a pang. If God wills we will, let us hope, achieve still more success in our historical studies.

Powell Building Bombay 4
2 July 1939.

But the main reason for my coming here was the call of Rajendra Babu. I met him at leisure & he particularly appealed to me to persuade you to start the project of history & not drop it for want of funds. He called a meeting of a few merchant princes & in five minutes got together about Rs 15000. He has proposed to obtain 10 thousand more in Bombay, about 25000 in Calcutta a few more amounts from Karachi & other places. Jayachandra was present & is realizing the money & keep it in a bank. I enclose two reports from local papers.

I very well know how your time is already booked & why you cannot bear this additional strain. There are however some other considerations which we must take into account. We all realize that no one except yourself can shoulder this huge undertaking. You have yourself in our Benares speech set down the qualifications of the person who undertakes this task: can India point today to any other scholar than yourself? Under your guidance why may we not expect to achieve something that looks so huge today. Many young & old students will work under you: we shall establish such a bureau as we are long yearning for, now that the money is there for office expenses. It will be at least a year or two before actual contributions are received: during this period you will not be much bothered. The scheme will take about 10 years to complete: but even if we pass away without seeing the end, we shall have done what we could: & then the youngsters will take up the completion.

Munshi & Kher were present when Rajendra Babu was explaining the object to the merchants. I wonder what Munshi thinks of Rajendra Babu's move. That is however their concern. Jayachandra very likely will revert to Benares & will conduct there the preliminaries of the project. If he accepts Tikekar for a joint worker, I think the latter will be available. If the scheme is well handled, there are good prospects before it. In course of time an appeal will be made to the Universities & to the Indian States. Jayachandra is going to write to you separately & Babu Rajendra Prasad will meet you at Calcutta in a month's time.

Kamshet
31 August 1939

In this respect I strongly feel the necessity of us both conserving hereafter our time & energy to the utmost, so that we must not leave unfinished, before we depart from the world, those missions & calls which we alone can accomplish. I would therefore urge on you some lines of procedure. You can freely accept co-operation from me & others of your choice & leave things to us to be worked out under your guidance. You must not spend your time in doing jobs which others can do. Similarly you must have an environment at Calcutta free from domestic calls, which your sons & daughters can manage, so that all your time & labour can be utilised towards accomplishing the various tasks that lie before you, & of which we have taken enough note till now.........

* * *

My paper on Parmanand takes note only of his personal details & the circumstances of his life & work. I do not enter into any discussion of the contents of his *Shivabharat*. This point I will deal separately on another occasion. He never uses the name शिवभारत for his work. He invariably calls it the अनुपुराण (= a supplementary *Puran*) अध्यायशत। संहितायां He never meant to imitate the great Bharat. शत साहस्रयां संहितायां are words not used by परमानंद himself : you will note that the कालीस्तोत्र & the chapters on Sambhaji were also अनुपुराण and contained figures 102, 103 for the Adhyayas. The name शिवभारत was used by the scribe on the cover of the copy he made. As matters stand I believe परमानंद to have been put to death by Aurangzeb as being the accomplice of Shivaji & his son continued & wrote the संयाजी chapters. गांगाभट्ट & परमानन्द both style Shivaji a क्षत्रिय (इत्यनुपुराणे सूर्यवंशे &c.) of the solar race). Shivaji secured the help of these two luminaries to strengthen his position against the clamour of the orthodox priests who reckoned him a Shudra. Anyway Parmanand does not seem to have returned to the Deccan. I don't know how you view the affair.

Kamshet
16. 12. '39

While at Darjiling I read in some English Magazine, owned by you if I remember right, a Mysore journal, an account of the atrocities committed agst the Hindus by Ranadulla Khan (accompanied by Shahji) during the years 1637-39 when temples were pulled down, images broken, cows slaughtered, women raped & an enormous amount of wealth was carried to Bijapur. I should like to have a copy of that account or a reference where I could obtain it. I think I copied it then, but somehow I have mislaid it. ....The Nayak referred to was I think Virabhadra of Ikkeri. He then transferred his capital to Bednur[1] further south. If you can let me have the details, you will help me in my sore need.

Kamshet
31 Dec. 1939

Now that you are working on Shahji & Shivaji, it is essential we personally ransack the archives of Bangalore & Tanjore : I suppose your Bang[a]lore friend, the scientist will be able to make our way easy. Let us pay a quiet unannounced visit & satisfy our craving once for all. We need not spend a long time : but we must be both together. Please intimate your plans to me in advance, so that I shall keep myself ready.

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[1] Bednur was the capital of an independent principality of the same name. It is situated in Shimoga District of Mysore State. (Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 220 ; *Short History of Aurangzib*, 295 ; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XIII, 400-401.)

Kamshet P.
27. 2. 1940

With the help of the *Akbarats* I have entirely reconstructed Balaji Vishvanath, & have formed quite a different estimate of Shahu. I hope to elucidate my fresh perspective in some magazine in the near future. I wish we could meet & discuss. Have you fresh sources for me for that period ?

Kamshet
15 March 1940

I have been reading the pages you have sent me describing Santaji Ghorpade's fights, wherein I notice a certain amount of hesitation on your part—particularly in regard to Santaji being removed from his office of Senapati. Your f. note on p 235 is not correct. The words of Jedhe Shakavali, viz "धनाजीस नाम जाद केलें" in 1693, do not mean that Dhanaji[1] was given that office & that Santaji was removed. I refer you to letter no. 68 of *P. D. Selection* 31—which is dated 27 Oct 1696 & which contains a definite statement—संताजी घोरपडे यांणीं स्वामींच्या पायाशीं हरामखोरी केली या करितां सेनापति पणाचा कार्यभाग दूर करून फौज हुजूर आणविली. So Santaji lost his सेनापति-ship in October 1696 & not so early as 1693, although he had long been overbearing & become odious to Rajaram. So Rajwade letters of vol. 15 are perfectly correct :—

no 45 mentions Santaji as Senapati on 23 May 1695.

no 48 mentions Dhanaji as Senapati on 16 Oct 1696.

I have noted these points on p. 544 of my new edition of मराठी सियासत 1 (or p. 82 of स्थिरबुद्धि राजाराम)

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[1] Dhanaji Jadav was born about 1650. He first obtained service under Pratap Rao Gujar, the renowned Commander-in-Chief of Shivaji and soon rose to independent command by his military efficiency. He won laurels of victory and died in 1708 at Wadgaon. (Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, 215-239 ; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 230-248, 321, 329, 332, 341, 354, 361 ; II, 15, 17.)

Kamshet
24 March 1940.

I am returning Rajwade's *life* with a few corrections. The Mandal was founded on 7 July 1910 : Rajwade was born at Varsai, a small village below the Ghats not far from Karjat, where the railway begins to ascend the Ghats. There are so many Wadgaons near about Poona, that I am unable to locate the one at wh Rajwade learned his Marathi alphabets. But I am sure it is not the railway station Wadgaon near here.

I have already posted for you a note on Rajwade's last days at Dhulia where his two friends G. K. Chandorkar & B. V. Bhat looked after him.

If I were you, I would drop the gossip about Rajwade seeking a mate in his advanced age. It is terribly ranckling even now in the Maratha heart & does not in my opinion, ennoble your critical estimate of his life & worth. In this connection you have not mentioned one phase of Rajwade's character : he was a coward of first[-]rate quality & particularly timid even in ordinary matters. Pestitencial [pestilential] diseases, chance of accidents, nature's fury & even ordinary discomforts overcame him to an unimaginable degree. His scrupulous regard for cleanliness in food arose more from fear of death than from a principle of life. I describe my own experience.

Early in June 1924 he unexpectedly came to see me at Kamshet one morning with Rs 500 cash & asked me to build for him within three days a small tin hut near our own—the present Shri Bhau's kitchen, where we then lived—Bhau's & other houses did not then exist. Rajwade was so insistent about his new hut, that he would talk of nothing else. I said, have your bath, let us have a breakfast together & we will then think of the hut : but in any case I said the hut cannot be ready within three days. In the first place Bhau the owner must permit, then the materials, the timber & the tins in particular will have to come from Bombay & even if we wired, the trains would not deliver these things in less than a week. I said I would do my best & write to my brother. It was then about 11 o'clock. We together went to the river, had a swim, returned, ate a meal & rested. As fate would have it a dust storm started about 2 o'clock in the afternoon followed by furious showers of rain & hail & such a strong wind that there was not a dry spot left in the whole hut : it was the first burst of the Monsoon & the tins on the top, it seemed wd. be blown away by the wind, causing serious injury. The storm abated towards evening, but scorpions, crabs & even snakes began to crawl about for shelter. Rajwade god terribly afraid of life & practically benumbed piteously begged that he shd. be helped to escape the storm. But we could do nothing. Rajwade huddled himself in a blanket in a corner on the floor, did not eat in the evening : we were all more or less discomfortable & managed to rest for the night. As I got up early morning about 5 o'clock I found Rajwade had disappeared already without even mentioning that he was going away. I was not a little relieved by this result, as I was thinking how to extricate myself from the predicament of an unwelcome neighbour in a colony which had not then grown. The loss of Kamshet proved the gain of Dhulia. Providence alone saved me !

Every friend of Rajwade has one kind of experience or another about his timidity. He was as weak of nerve as he was pungent in language. One cannot have a better contrast between words & deeds. If you like you can substitute this anecdote for the scandal of his last days. If Rajwade had possessed Tilak's nerve, he would probably have beaten the latter even in politics.

I have nothing more to write today. I have accepted an engagement for a lecture at Amraoti (Berar) on 10 April.

Kamshet P.
8 Apr 1940

The Peshwa Bajirao I find visited the kings of Udepur & Jaipur twice once in 1729 July or so & again during the cold season of 1735-36. His mother lived at Jaipur for 3 months Aug-Oct 1735. He impressed upon these kings the need of co-operation bet. the Marathas & the Rajputs & tried to gain his object without actually displacing the emperor. Now that I am working on Bajirao I am developing the subject of rapproachement [rapprochement] bet. the south and the north.

Kamshet P.
26. 4. 1940

I should like to have the exact reference & the quotation of the original words, if possible, containing the warning that Shah Jahan had given to Aurangzeb to keep a careful watch on the activities of Shahji & his son Shivaji. This warning was given as I believe when the Emperor returned to the north in 1636, appointing Aurangzeb as the Subhedar of the Deccan.

Kamshet P.
Dist Poona
8 June 1940

I have any number of letters in *Raj.* vol. 8, Sardesai family papers, & other old papers mentioning Santaji Ghorpade as Senapati between 1692-1694: your last correction note is anything but satisfactory.

Kamshet
24 June 1940

The Raja of Sandur has been long pressing me to have a history of all the Ghorpades properly prepared. I said you & I would guide but could not undertake to do the work myself. I saw him in Bombay last month & have found out for him a competent man to do the work—one Dr. Pawar, who is professor of history at Kolhapur a foreign trained young enthusiast who came & worked in May here & at the A. O. & is wholeheartedly helping in the *P. D.* revision work. He has also discovered a lot more historical correspondence on Shahu & Tarabai at the A. O. & in some private families. I have advised him to explore Kapsi, Nesri, Nipani[1] & other places. There is a lot about Murarrao Ghorpade[2] in the Madras records where he wishes to go & study on the spot. He needs guidance. Kindly let me have a short note on the sources of the Ghorpade history, French, Persian & others & the way he should set about the work. You must have noticed my article on the Ghorpades in April *Mod. Review*. Please attend to this request quickly. He must also handle the Mudhol *firmans*.

Kamshet
26 July 1940

Two days ago the Maharaja of Panna,[3] a descendant of Chhatrasal, called me to Bombay for a visit. He is erecting a memorial for Chhatrasal

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[1] Nipani is a town in the Belgaum District, Bombay. It is 40 miles north of the Belgaum town. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, X, 336.)

[2] Murarrao Ghorpare of *Gatti* was the vassal of the Marathas and the grandson of the renowned Maratha general, Santaji Ghorpare. Early in 1776 Hyder Ali razed *Gatti* to the ground and forced him to surrender. He was tortured and cast into prison where he sighed out the remaining years of his life. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 87, 88, 90, 92, 255, 257, 308, 329, 488, 490; III, 39, 64, 130-31.)

[3] Panna was a prince's state in Bundelkhand situated on the table-lands above the Vindhyan Ghats and was formerly known for its diamond mines. The ruling chief of Panna during early British period was one of the sons of the famous Maharaja Chhatrasal Bundela. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XI, 48-56.)

& desired that you & I should attend the function next winter & enlighten him & the public in the correct history of his state. I said I will try. The Maharaja said he had a lot of old papers Hindi & Persian & possibly a few Marathi which he would like to be explored. Do you think it worth while going there?

* * *

Your note on the history of the Ghorpades was highly serviceable to Dr. Pawar who is immensely grateful to you for your help.

Kamshet
30.7.1940

I remember having read your beautiful analysis of the movements of Nizam-ul-mulk & Bajirao during the Palkhed campaign Novr. 1727—Feb 1728. I also remember you explained to me the exact position of Palkhed with pointed reference to Bajirao's strategy in encircling Nizam in a critical situation. Can you tell me where you have written about this? I fail to find the exact source. It is not in your *Fall of the Mughal Empire.* Irvine has skipped the episode.

* * *

Why is Hamid Khan uncle of Nizam-ul-mulk in Gujarat styled Jangli Shahazade by *Siyarmutakherin* & others?

Kamshet
20. 8. 40

A small English book, *History of the Nawabs of Banda,* printed at Indore in 1892 with a full genealogy, mentions Mastani as the illegitimate daughter of Chhatrasal himself. Do you know of any contemporary source to confirm or disprove this statement.

Kamshet
29. 10. 1940.

I have written to Dattagir & shall arrange our winter tour after I hear from him. I am personally more inclined to visit Tanjore. A valued friend who recently visited me here told me of his having recently seen lots of old Marathi papers & pictures of historical interest in some old Deccani families at Tanjore. I am developing the subject & will be able to speak to you more definitely in course of time.

Kamshet P.
2 November 1940.

On p. 236 of his second volume of Maratha History Kincaid gives in an appendix an English version of an original Persian letter addressed by Nadir Shah to the Peshwa Bajirao I. The exact date is also given & there is no doubt that the letter is genuine. It is nowhere printed in Marathi & is one of those important ones which the old Parasnis studiously kept back from public use. As the letter is important I wish to quote it in my account of that Peshwa. I wonder if you can discover the original anywhere else whether you have already noticed it.......

* * *

Bharati Krishna maintains that the first Shankaracharya flourished about the time of Christ & not in the 8th century. This point we must be able to argue with him. I am sure you will come prepared for a discussion. We might invite Prof. Kane & one or two others from Bombay for that subject. Dattagir is very keen on this subject as you already know.

Kamshet
12 Novr. 1940

I am getting encouraging response for our Tanjore visit. An old Maharastrian writes in a Marathi letter in reply to my query that here & there some families have Marathi papers, but none of them know how old they are & what worth they have. He invites us both to visit the place. Profr. C. S. Srinivasachari of the Annamalai Univ. only a few miles from Tanjore writes to say that he will arrange everything for us & that he will himself join when required. The Tanjore gentleman writes that the Tanjore district has many Dec. families whom we should visit. I cannot say how many days we shd. reserve for Tanjore. But much will depend upon the success we will obtain. We have on hand only about 10 clear days 7—17 Dec & we will make the best of our time between Bangalore & Tanjore, leaving Bombay on the night of the 6th Dec, direct for Madras & take Bangalore on the way back. I don't mind which route we take.

Kamshet
9. 2. 1941

You mention Santaji Sarlaskar being a deserter from Shahu. He is Sultanji Nimbalkar[1] son of Haibatrao, who was deprived of his office by Shahu in 1727. There is none of the name Santaji.

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[1] Sultanji Nimbalkar was Shahu's Sar-e-Lashkar. He deserted to the Nizam in 1726. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 73, 144, f.n.)

[Place not given]
13. 2. 1941

Two points to be cleared (1) where & when did Jai Singh & Bajirao meet ?

(1) "From Udepur the Peshwa marched to Jahajpur and Jai Singh hastened to meet him ; they met at Bhambholao near Kisangarh (Feb. 15. 1736)",—*Malwa-in-Trans.* Kisangarh is 18 miles n. of Ajmere—what is the exact position of Jahajpur & Bhambholao ? इ० सं० ऐतिहासिकचरित्रें pt 1, p 63, writes आपली पत्रें छु २ जिल्कादचीं मनोहरपुर मुकामचीं आलीं. Manoharpur is about 20 m. north of Jaipur & about 10 m. s. e. of Madhupur.[1] So what is the exact place of the meeting ?

(2) They met on छु १ जिल्काद 4 March 1736—this is clear from p. 322 of *P. D.* vol. 30—Bajirao wrote to Palaji [Pilaji] Jadhav from मनोहरपुर on 2 जिल्काद (5 March). The meeting lasted for several days—so it is clear they met at मनोहरपुर. But why shd. Brjirao go from Nathdwar so far north, to meet Jai Singh ?

Evidently the dates given in *Fall of the M. E.* vol. I 263 and in *Malwa-in-Trans.* (p 241), i.e. 15 Feb &c are wrong. The Vansh-Bhaskar is gossipy & cannot be relied upon in preference to the Peshwa's Diaries.

There are inaccuracies in *Fall*—(p 267) Pilaji Jadhav was not with Bajirao in 1736—he was at Satara. The indecorum of Bajirao puffing his hukka in an open Darbar into Jai Singh's face, is unthinkable & is a mere bazar *gup*.

Kamshet
19. 3. 1941

Much new light has been discovered about the striking cultural exchange bet Maharastra & the north, & the close friendship between Sawai Jai Singh & Shahu both practically of the same age & lived in the Emperor's Camp in the Deccan bet. 1668-1707. If you have the date of Jai Singh's birth, please let me have it. I will write a separate paper on the subject.

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[1] Madhupur or Madhopur is 43 miles north of Jaipur in Rajasthan. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, VIII, 542.)

Kamshet
1. 5. 1941

I have received Babu Rajendra Prasad's letter asking my confirmation of the contract about the history work. I am glad that the work has now been earnestly started & all credit is due to you. Let us hope we shall succeed as we deserve under the present deplorable conditions of life. So far as I am concerned I would like to tell you what I think about my own contribution to this subject. In a few days I complete 76 & must now seriously prepare for the final journey. I am most anxious to rewrite my *Riyasat* vols. 1707-61 & print them before I undertake anything else. I have reached the year 1745 & the remaining period is most complicated. I would therefore beg you to try & find out some younger man who could do the job of my portion of the Indian history project & when the matter is put into shape, I will gladly revise it & offer my own revision gratis. The man may do the work for the remuneration that is offered. I do not want it......

Kamshet
17. 5. 1941

The war of 1817-18, so far as Elphinstone's Residency is concerned, is quite a small affair, unlike the war of 1803, when the Pindharis operations, the Nagpur & the Mahidpur[1] battles have to be rigidly excluded. That is why I have designated the year 1816 as one of Trimbakji's insurrection; & 1818 as of Bajirao's pursuit & surrender; the war being confined to 1817.

Kamshet P., Dt. Poona.
28 June 1941

I have read your introduction to the vol. of Sindia Papers *P. R. Corresp.* 1794-1802. It is an excellent piece of literary & historical acumen. The copy was sent me by the Maharaj Kumar. Why not delit [*delete*] the last lines on p. 2, I mean the sentence "the history of the country during the century & a quarter beginning with the year 1818 proves that it has not been a vain hope." You are not writing a history of the British regime. The omission makes no damage.

* * *

To the list of deaths of prominent Maratha Sardars you can add on

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[1] Mahidpur is a village in the Indore District of Madhya Pradesh. (Raghuvir Sinh, *Malwa in Transition*, 277.)

p. 3 Haripant Phadke died on 20 June 1794 and Parashuram Bh. Patwardhan 17 Septr 1799[.]

Kamshet
7. 7. 1941

If I am fit enough & can spare the time I will try to join you for Panipat in August.......

Kamshet
14 August 1941

I do intend going to Mysore, as I have not moved out this year anywhere. I have a mind to visit Madras & spend some time in the Mackenzie Collection. I wonder if I can combine it with our Mysore tour. What would you suggest by way of a profitable excursion for us from Dec. 10 when you say you can come here.

Kamshet
3 Octr. 1941.

While at Bombay I read in the B'bay Govt. Gazette a resolution of the Govt. of India reconstituting the H. R. C & its functions. It seemed to me that this important change had been effected without your knowledge or consultation & that too much centralization had been effected, the Secretary of the Commission alone bossing everything, since the Ex-Officio President is not supposed to understand the intricacies of the situation. Kindly let me know what you think of it.

P. Kamshet,
6 Nov, 1941

I think I wrote to you from Bombay that I was not pleased with the reconstruction of the H. R. C & suspected some sinister hand. You will be right in washing your hand off it, if Govt. do not recognise the selfless services which you have rendered during 22 yrs. I am sure they cannot dispense with you. If you don't go to Mysore, I will drop my journey too. Let us await the developments.

Kamshet P
3. 12. 1941.

Kindly inform me if you have been able to form any programme of your winter tour & if so when you can be expected here or in Berar, Please communicate all details worth my knowing about your present work & occupation.

Kamshet
5 Dec 1941.

Yesterday I received my copy of the भ., No. 2 of the year 22. Please notice on the last page cover Potdar's declaration on the subject of the reconstruction of the H. R. C. Joshi has already been deputed to Delhi to help Sen edit & publish Marathi documents of the Imp. Records. They have planned to drop you out. I wonder what the present position is. Can you not expose the fraudulent manoeuvres of Sen Potdar through N. R. Sarkar. It was I think Sargent who played into Sen's hands. The plan seems to have been deep laid for the last two years. We can certainly very well afford to laugh & remain quiet, having already accomplished our life's ambitions. Please send me as much literature on this subject as you may be possessing, published in the press. Friends tell me much has been discussed in public press: but I don't see the papers & don't waste my time on them. Please remove my worries. How could the Govt. impose a constitution suddenly upon this learned body without consulting them?

Kamshet
19 Dec 1941

The war seems to be approaching your doors rapidly & it is doubtful if we can carry out our usual tour. I am inclined to give it up for the present. The Hydarabad people pressed me to attend the History Congress & I have declined to do so. Similarly, if you give up the Mysore session also, we shall not think of a journey in Jan. & put it off to some better suited occasion in the future. I am not sure how you stand in the new constitution of the H. R. C. I am however inclined to hope that your absence will be more telling. Kindly tell me immediately what you would like to do. You can put off Balapur for the present.

Kamshet P Dt. Poona
3 January 1942

As we are not going to meet in the near future, I feel awfully handicapped in my work. Not only do our annual visits give a fresh inspiration for further results, but to me they are vitally necessary. I have just finished my revision of the *Riyasat* vols for 1707-61 & am taking up something new. An exchange of views with you at such a break would have been of immense advantage to me at this time. I am anxious to start my portion of the Benares history project, & if possible to combine this with my long cherished dream of rendering all the *Marathi Riyasat* into English. Two years in my opinion shd. suffice for such an undertaking. I wonder if you can guide me by a few hints how I shd. proceed & which portion I shd. tackle first—I am inclined to take up this very period first 1707-1761, as it is fresh & is probably worth doing. If I had the chance, I would have liked to do this work in your company at Calcutta for a month or two in at least the initial stages. Had it not been for the troubles of the journey, I would at once have run to you & started my work. As things are the only course left to me is seek your guidance through letters. Is there a prospect of our meeting in February or March ? Do we give up Madras ? Oh the war is an enigma for all.

Kamshet P. Dt. Poona
30 Jan 1942

Every day brings the war nearer to India's shores & I can easily realize the consternation you all mut be feeling at Calcutta. But an inner voice tells me that you & I would escape all trouble & be allowed to peacefully follow our avocations. At any rate it is best to act upon this confidence & go on unperturbed.

* * *

I had been to Bombay last week to meet Nawab Ali Yavar Jang (Profr. Ali Yar Khan) the present constitutional Secretary of Haidarabad & I believe the next rising star of that state. Mr. Mavlankar happened to be in Bombay & we had together frank talks on the Hindu Moslem question. The Nawab personally is opposed to Pakistan, as you must have noticed from the speech he made at the History Congress of which he has posted you a copy. The dominant note of his thesis is the unity of India & I have complimented him on this bold utterance. They now feel that we Marathas have stolen a march over them in historical research & now the Nizam's Govt. are waking up to their needs. Mr. Kurshid Ali is retired & this Jang Bahadur invited my co-operation in writing or preparing the ground for the history of the Nizam State. I said I could not do much personally but would cordially help if he could depute a suitable person to take notes at my library. So one Mr. Joshi M.A. from their service has been asked to work here for three months : & this man is coming here on Ist Feb. I hope you like the idea. The Nawab also told me of the Nizam's Govt. having acquired legal powers to take forcible possession of private papers of historical value. They have already acquired one such collection in which the Nawab assures me there is a large stock of old Modi papers. I have offered to go & inspect it at some convenient time, probably after this next summer. So you & I can get facilities now in Hydarabad for our study. Ali Yavar Jang feels highest respect for you & knows how we are working. He is happy over Shafaat Ahmad having been shunted away.

Kamshet P, Dt. Poona
25 Feb 1942

I think it is long since you should have had my letter to which I expected a reply. Present times & world developments necessitate an exchange of heartful thoughts & more than a year has passed, since we met & it seems ages have passed between then and now. I have a presentiment, may be foolish, that you & I are not coming to any harm, whatever the troubles outside may be. At any rate it is best to act on this supposition.

P. Kamshet
30. 8. 42

Hary Pandit is doubtless Haripant Phadke, Nana Fadnis's right hand man. Mahadji died on 12. 2. 1794 and Haripant died on 20 June following. Nana certainly means Nana Fadnis. Daulatrao obtained formal succession to Mahadji's estate only when he conferred on Nana his own Fadnisi in addition to that of Peshwa, wh. he already held. Baloo Mirza appears to be Baloba Tatya Pagnis. Mahadji was found of using imperial terms for his own officers He had a great predilection for the Muslim religion too. But I have not found any reference to the title Mirza having been used for Baloba Tatya......

Kamshet P., Dt. Poona,
15. 12. 1942.

On p. 166 of your *Aurangzeb* vol. V you say that fort Satara fell on 21 April 1700, while गदाधर शकावली (शिवचरित्रप्रदीप p. 67) gives चैत्र शु० १३ शके 6622 which corresponds to 21 March & not 21 April. Can you kindly verify the dates & say which is correct or is there a printing mistake, one month exactly ?

Kamshet P., Dt. Poona,
9. 1. 43.

This week I attended the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona & was the guest of Dr, Belvalker along with

Dr. Radhakrishnan. I made his acquaintance & had a chat with him. I also met many other gentlemen & scholars and greatly relieved the monotony of my seclusion at Kamshet. I visited the Servants of India Society, where I think we stayed together in 1925. The Society is in distress for want of funds. One student of the Society is working on the past history of Poona & its environs. He was working on Bussy's campaign & I gave him your paper containing translation of a French acct. of that campaign. He would like to consult the original French, if you possess a copy & if you can conveniently spare it for a few days. Kindly let me know.

Kamshet
22 Jan 1943

I wonder if you can suggest to me a kind of guide or help in expanding one's vocabulary of English, some model of the type of Roger's Treasures. That is probably too old now. I am writing my English chapters and find myself much hampered by the difficulty of choosing appropriate words. Sir Richard Temple's writings strike me as splendid particularly in point of happy phraseology. Mc Mordie was common in my school days but I am sure there are now heaps of such aids available. I have the Oxford dictionary by me, but that is not of much use. You must know of many useful hints which can help me in my trial. If you post me any suitable book at once I shall feel grateful.

Poona,
19 Feby 1943

I have had your last letter some time ago, and thank you for the useful suggestions you have given me about English composition.

Kamshet
26-2-1943

My wife *Mai* expired here this morning at 8.15. About ten days ago I went to Poona for reading my English m.s. of Maratha History with some friends of the Fergusson College and to embody in it the various points of latest research which I might have overlooked. Two days after my departure, *Mai* got fever here rising to about 102° which was considered to be of an ordinary type. Bhau and some Doctors saw her last Monday and proper treatment was given. His brother Tatya who was in Poona, came and stayed with her for a few days. As the fever persisted without remission, weakness set in and I was asked to come back. I arrived yesterday noon and found the patient's expression not very satisfactory. But, I hardly thought the end was so near. This morning at 7 o'clock, she asked for tea, which I gave her with my own hands and I took a cup myself as usual. She even spoke a few words. Within an hour the pulse stopped and all was over. So, she has gone the common way which is destined for all of us, after giving me company for 60 years and completing 70 years of life. I hope she & I will have a common resting place soon together. All my life's work has been due to the devotion with which she served me. She is resting in final peace now.

Kamshet
4. 5. 43.

Your own letters to me all of which I have carefully preserved, are valuable in so far as they record a complete account of historical research in Maharashtra during the last 30 years and as you have doubtless preserved my letters the two collections together will form a guide to future workers if a selection could be published, when easy times come dealing with the various problems of research the difficulties that were encountered & overcome. I was dreaming of doing this work sometime myself, but both my health & the present dire conditions due to war damp all my enthusiasm. Can you suggest a way ?

* * *

This seems our colony has lost half its charm due to scarcity of water—leave aside other supplies which are equally difficult to be obtained. We all go for a dip in the Indrayani[1]—which is the only enjoyment of its kind.

Post Kamshet Dist. Poona,
7 July 1943

You have already had a little foretaste of the chapters I began to write and by now I have completed my task from 1600-1750, and am proceeding rapidly with the subsequent period. But as I have already explained to you, I have not yet fully comprehended the compartmental scheme of Benares wherein I have to fit in. It has long been my life's dream to present in an English garb my lifelong studies which have remained confined to Marathi. A complete history of the Marathas based on the vast materials now available has been a crying need : and while you have dealt with the same subject pretty fully in your "*Fall of the*

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[1] Indrayani is a stream in the Poona District on the bank of which stands Kamshet the hermitage of G. S. Sardesai.

Mughal Empire," "*Aurangzeb*," and "*Shivaji and his Times*" your angle of vision is not the same as mine. I started entirely from the point of view of the Marathas as an independent entity. I have all along realized that my advancing age and declining powers, particularly since my wife's death last Feb., are great drawbacks in the gigantic task of writing a comprehensive history of the Marathas ; and more than once I asked you to suggest to me some co-adjutor who could co-operate with me in completing the project. I asked Dighe about this, but his present job with not very robust health and his increasing family, hardly left him any spare time and energy. Fortunately however I was able to secure the co-operation of a young learned scholar, Profr. S. R. Sharma, of the Fergusson College, whom you already know, who is already an author of repute knowing the needs of students and who happily is easily available to me for frequent personal consultation. We have both advanced in our work, have secured a publisher even in these hard times and hope to bring out our first half of the Maratha History in a few months' time. Personally I have grown very impatient about finishing this work and cannot afford to wait for the atmosphere being cleared for the Congress scheme to be completed. Just at this moment, all Congress undertakings are tabood : nor will my present treatment of the subject fit in with the scheme of vols and sections planned by the Benares project. The latter cannot make room for a comprehensive Maratha history that I am writing.

Kamshet P. Dt Poona
15 July 1943.

Two important letters already published in Marathi escaped my attention and yours too (*Fall of the Mughal Empire* II p. 76 f. n.) *Chandrachud Daftar* (Pub 1920) Vol. 1 no 49 and a second part of this printed by Dongre of Gwalior letter no 4—are two letters written by Tukoji Holkar to Malharrao some time in 1759 in which he says that he and Sabaji Sinde[1] reached Peshawar stayed there for some time, captured Attock & collected revenue for all the territory between Lahore & Attock. Of course the Marathas did not possess Attock for more than 4 to 6 months. Abdali's general Jahan Khan attacked them and they retired to Lahore from Peshawar about Aug 1759 : Jahan Khan was defeated—his son was killed near Lahore and then Abdali came upon the Marathas furiously in Oct 1759. Tukoji Holkar's main complaint is that

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[1] Sabaji Sindhia, the Maratha captain, was the principal helpmate of Raghunathrao in extending the Maratha arms to Attock. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II. 400, 404, 408, 411.)

Sabaji alone took all the revenue collected and did not pay him anything. Two *Akbarats* at the Mandal from the Parasnis Collection confirm this tale. They are in Persian & not yet printed.

* * *

Do not believe the exaggerated tales about the Vaidya Daftar. I have seen the whole Daftar several times these two years at Poona. The owner Vaidya comes to me here too. Dighe and I practically studied the whole. Out of a heap of recent *rumals,* we picked up about 50—100 papers for the pre-Panipat period—the Daftar has nothing for the succeeding period, as the family lost its importance after Shahu who had patronized them. I have taken copies of some important 50 letters bearing on Raghuji Bhosle's Bengal expeditions, the Angre affair and the last days of Shahu. The Vaidyas were three brothers, acted as agents to several Maratha leaders, and carried on a lucrative banking business. They acted as Raghuji's agents at Satara. The present Vaidya goes on bragging that he possesses more than a thousand papers. Why they may be 5 thousand but absolutely rubbish for history. Vaidya family would certainly prize them as their personal legacy. They fell out of favour with the Peshwas after Shahu's death and began howling for the loss of their importance. I can give you copies of the papers I and Dighe have made. I offered to edit them. But the owner wants all this rubbish to be printed at some body else's expense. I spent days at his place in Poona these two years & have carefully taken note of everything valuable. Only one letter mentions Chanda Saheb having been brought prisoner. The owner considers that Chanda Saheb was taken to Nagpur by Raghuji Bhosle (1741—1747): I doubt this & fully believe that he was all the while kept at Satara. In order to increase his importance & possibly get some money he wrote long tales to Lehureaux. I have utilized all the letters for my fresh ed. of the Peshwa Balajirao. That is enough for history.

There is another similar Daftar called the Akolner Jagir Daftar, surnamed Kales. Their ancestor Ramaji Anant was the Sindia's Dewan from 1750-61 and was killed at Panipat as Nana Fadnis mentions in his autobiography. Just as the Vaidya Papers throw some important fresh light on Raghuji and Bengal, so these Kale papers elucidate several northern affairs particularly Jayappa's[1] expedition into Marwar and his murder. I and Dighe examined this Daftar also and took copies of those which are important. Both the affairs are being managed by the Mandal at Poona & I have no wish to interfere. It is enough I have copies in my possession wh. I can give you any time.

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[1] Jayapa Sindhia was the son of Ranoji Sindhia and became the head of the family after his father's death in July 1745. He was a brave soldier and was murdered by a Rathor envoy of Raja Bijay Singh on 25 July 1755 at Nagor. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas.* II, 233, 235, 238-39, 361, 365, 375, 377, 383-84 ; Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire,* II, 174-82.)

Kamshet P. Dt. Poona
28 August 1943.

Last week Nawab Aliyavar Jung Bahadur of Haidarabad was in Bombay and I met him by appointment. He is organising a history office in Haidarabad and wished me to go and stay there for a few months to set it in order. I said I am not going to sell myself for any job now in life; but as he pressed me I have agreed to spend a few days there in November, at most a month & do what I can to help the project on. Aliyavar Jung is now transferred to a Dept. in which Education is included. Till now he said he was not directly responsible for history. He declared Kurshid Ali went on wrong lines and did no useful work. There are heaps of Marathi papers he said which have to be looked into and that he would now throw everything open to me. He had nothing to conceal—and that was now the view of that Govt. also. I have committed myself to nothing and told him to write me officially & I would give a considered reply. I procured for him three sets of *P. D. S.* at Rs. 80 each from the Govt. Press. I welcome this project simply because it will give me a chance to break my solitary monotony of life. Aliyavar Jung spoke highly of your researches & will I am sure unreservedly show you everything Persian also, He was earnest about securing outside scholarship.

As re the Attock controversy, the latest issue of the Mandal Quarterly has discussed the point in English, wh I am sure you have seen. Let me kindly have your considered opinion after studying the evidence. If you have not received the issue, I will post you one. I have written to Hari Ram Gupta also.

Kamshet P.
19 Oct 1943.

Dr. Pawar of Kolhapur is just now my guest here and is working at the A.O. papers hunting out further information about the Ghorpades. He brought to my notice an important letter by Parashuram Trimbak,[1] dated 22 Decr. 1699, addressed to a Maratha Sardar with a view to prevent Aurangzeb from capturing Satara and raiding the imperial camp at Brahmapuri.[1] The letter gives several graphic details of Maratha heroism & is printed in the third of the large vols. issued by Bala Saheb Pratinidhi of Aundh, on p. 451. A few letters picked up from the Poona Daftar are printed by the Pratinidhi in that vol. in supplement no 5 on pp. 437-464. I suppose you have the vol. in your library. The three vols. were presented to us together when we visited Aundh last. I draw your attention to this letter as it will considerably enliven your account in *Aurangzeb* V on the siege and capture of Satara.

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[1] Parashuram Trimbak, a Brahman by caste, was a hereditary Kulkarni of Kinneya. He served creditably as the chief revenue officer of the Maratha Government and rose to the high post of Pratinidhi or Agent under Tarabai in 1701 by sheer dint of his ability, efficiency and honest service. He died in 1720. (Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, 240, 242; *Short History of Aurangzib*, 304, 336, 337-38, 343; *History of Aurangzib*, V, 201.)

Kamshet P, Dt. Poona
31 Octr 1943.

I have dissolved my collaboration with Profr. Sharma in the preparation of my Maratha History in English as I found we radically differed in our outlooks, Sharma caring only to produce a class book that he could impose upon his pupils like his books on the Mughal History.

* * *

A third scheme of Indian History has now been put forth in competition with the two already announced from Allahabad and Benares. This third is sponsored by Mr. K. M. Munshi and his Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan in Bombay. So now with three such grand schemes, the Indian nation will surely have a golden future soon !!

* * *

Can you kindly mention to me one or two source books for the history of Maharastra during the two centuries preceding the rise of Shivaji (1400-1600). Is there any latest research on this subject after what you write in your Shivaji ?

I find no reference to Kumar Vikram being the name of Daulatrao or even Kesarbai. Sidhoji is the name of one of two sons of Balabai, Mahadji's daughter married to Ladoji Sitole.[2] Lakshman was the younger son.

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[1] Brahmpuri is situated on the southern bank of the Bhima and was renamed as Islampuri. It is near Pandharpur in Bombay. (Sarkar, *Short History of Aurangzib*, 298 ; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 325.)

[2] Ladoji Sitole was Mahadji Sindhia's son-in-law and was appointed by Mahadji the Maratha Resident at Delhi in August 1786. He was timid and hesitating and fled from the capital in August 1787 when he heard Mahadji's repulse at Lalsot. He died in April 1794. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, IV, 51, 218-19 ; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, III, 147, 155, 162, 165.)

Marathi Papers mention 9 wives of Mahadji, which I have described on p 410 of my *Uttar Vibhag* Vol. 2 (1784—95). Kesarbai may be the maternal name of one of the ladies, as among Maharastrians every lady has two names. The last moments and the whole illness of Mahadji have been graphically narrated by a writer on the spot and I have quoted his letter in full on pp 407-408. I think this letter deserves to be quoted in his life. There was a scandal about Bhagirathibai, Mahadji's wife being attached to Daulatrao during the period when the other two Yamuna and Lakshmi waged an open war with him. This illicit love was the origin of the trouble.

Kamshet
13.11.1943

Kamshet
19. 11. 1943

I have reconstructed the early life of Mahadji Sindia, I mean 1761 to 1768—i.e. the period he appears into the north Indian stage handling imperial affairs. There is plentiful material in Marathi which has not been so far worked into by any body—*i.e. P.D. Selections*, Raj. Vol. 13 full of Mahadji—first 61 letters—mostly his own : they have remained unnoticed by students so long, because badly presented ; the Peshwas' Diaries, vols. of Madhavrao I and the volume of Khare.

There is nothing striking in this period of Mahadji's career. He was oscillating between the two opponents the Peshwa and his uncle. How he came out successfully through the terrible difficulties and built his career later, relying mainly on his own single nerve and resources is well examplied [*spelling verified*] in this his early career. If you like I would prepare a paper in English and send it to you for being published in a suitable magazine. He had two mothers and three sisters-in-laws living-wives of Jayapa, Dattaji and Jyotiba[1] all these ladies constantly intrigued. He was perfectly loyal both to the Peshwa & his uncle and took no part in their mutual squabbles. I have just completed this chapter in Marathi for my "*Madhavrao I*" revised edition.

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[1] Jotiba Sindhia was the son of Ranoji Sindhia. He was assassinated in his camp by Birsinh Dev of Orchha in November 1742. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 230, 233.)

Kamshet
3 Dec 1943.

In my sketch of Mahadji's early career, I shd. have mentioned how he closely watched the operations of Jawahar Singh Jat's[1] armies creating havoc in Bundel Khand : they were drilled by Rene Madec[2] and Samru.[3] Mahadji closely watched these tactics during 1767 and 1768 and made up his mind to go in for western discipline, although he [*it*] took him long before he employed De Boigne. Kindly mention this point in my draft during the year 1767-68, nearly towards the end. Mahadji was confirmed in his mind later by his experiences during the 1st. Maratha War.

Kamshet
11 Jan 44.

In my talk with Dr. Pawar one or two points pertinent to our activities occurred to me, which I commend for your action. The Kolhapur archives have been now ransacked by Dr. Pawar and selections prepared for printing of some 200 rare papers as far unknown to the public. For two years the work is lying unattended to by the authorities and nobody feels interested. Dr. Pawar himself is helpless. More than a year ago I wrote a suggestion for the Darbar which is ignored. The war trouble is always a plausible excuse, but some one must make these people realize their responsibility in a vital subject, which nobody attends to as of immediate concern. There is another point in this connection. You know the value of the Amatya Daftar of Bavda, out of which Rajwade printed his 8th vol. The Bavda Chief died a year or two ago & the state along with Ichalkaranji is likely to be amalgamated with Kolhapur. The Diwan of Bavda Mr. Sabnis who printed two small vols out of the Daftar revising Rajwade's edition, has been dismissed and all papers and state records are under lock and seal. God knows how much material has been pilfered by Sabnis, how much remains at Bavda and what the fate of that most valuable old Daftar is going to be. Govt. may take years to decide on the amalgamations. In my opinion one immediate step that can be taken is to save the Bavda records, bring them to Kolhapur and open them to genuine students of history along with the Kolhapur records (the latter having long remained a sealed book unnecessarily) on the same principle as was followed by the Bombay Govt. on the subject of the Peshwas' Daftar.

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[1] Jawahir Singh was the son of Suraj Mal, the Jat Raja of Bharatpur. He succeeded to the Jat Kingdom after his father's death in December 1763. He was an able army leader of the highest courage and activity, but he had an imperious spirit and in political and administrative matters he was far inferior to his father. He lost his life at the hands of a soldier in July 1768. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II, 439, 456-80 ; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 508-509.)

[2] Madec, Rene, born at Quimper in Brittany, first saw service in 1748 under the French East India Company. Soon afterwards he left this job and joined the French troops at Pondicherry. He was taken into captivity at Jinji by the British and made to serve in the English Army in Bengal. He effected his escape after some time and took to the life of an adventurer. He was possessed of patriotic spirit and always looked to the interest of his country. He also served Shuja-ud-daulah, the Jat Raja and finally took employment in 1772 under the Mughal Emperor who created him a noble of the first rank for his gallantry and efficient military service. In 1778 he left for France where he died in 1784. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, III, 65-66 ; IV, 111 ; Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, 269.)

[3] Walter Reinhardt, nicknamed Sombre or Samru, was a German soldier. He served Mir Qasim, Jawahir Singh the Jat Raja of Bharatpur and the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II. He commanded a trained infantry of 2,000 with 5 pieces of cannon. He amassed a large fortune during his Indian career and died in May 1778. The celebrated Begam Samru was his wife. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, III, 275-76 ; Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, IV, 125.)

As you have long realized, it is only a strong British official during minority that can take this bold vital progressive step. Mr. E. W. Perry, I.C.S. present Prime Minister of Kolhapur is a strong man of sound common sense always bent upon quick execution. He is prompt in replying too. I think if you send him a cogent representation on the lines mentioned above with the sole object of quickly saving what otherwise may be for ever lost. I am sure he will at once act. Dr. Pawar advises this step & may be made the immediate custodian, so that the records may be removed from the hands of petty ignorant clerks or routine officials. Mr. Perry is in direct charge of the records & will lose no time to act if he knows from reliable persons like you, what is in the interest of history. If you like you can mention me and I will personally go if necessary to put together all that remains of the Bavda records, possibly making Sabnis disgorge if he has anything in his possession.

Kamshet P., Dt. Poona
9 Feb 1944.

I just read your excellent exposition of Lakheri. As regards the date Keene gives Septr. 1792, which most writers have followed. Grant Duff gives no date. I have not seen any Marathi papers mentioning the date. Kindly let me know if you have noticed any Marathi paper. महेश्वर दरबार बातमीपत्रें. Part II No. 241 (p 211) is a paper dated 4 Septr. 1793 in which Ahalyabai's interview with Dudrenec is described. This corroborates your date.

I have one or two questions to ask. You say Bapu Holkar (not Bapu Rao ; your article p. 99) was Tukoji's son. Tukoji is known to have only 4 sons, Kashirao & Malharrao legitimate, Yashwantrao and Vithoji, illegitimate. I wonder what your authority is for Bapu being his son. This Bapu Holkar is certainly a prominent figure, may be Tukoji's near relative. I suppose he is the same Bapu Holkar who later went into Sindia's service and figured in the affair of Col. Monson's retreat. It was Bapu Holkar's treachery wh., it is said, brought Monson into trouble.

The affair of Lakheri, and many others like it, proves the utter incompetency of Ahalyabai to handle political or administrative questions. She could not restrain Malharrao. She was a pious lady but an utterly incompetent ruler. During 30 long years of her rule, there is hardly anything to her credit except her Ist bold stand against Raghoba in the summer of 1767. She could not control Tukoji, nor could she set him aside, as many advised. Her atmosphere was entirely priestly. In this respect you must have noticed Devrao Hingne's[1] report Parasnis इ० सं० होलकर दरबारांतली वकिली 1793-1794.

P. Kamshet, Dt. Poona
6 May 1944.

As time permits Dighe and I often discuss some of the outstanding controversies in Maratha history and each time we get some fresh light. For instance on the question of Bhau Saheb's last day push against Abdali on 14 Jan 1761. I wonder if you have noticed Nos 406 and 409 in which Satvoji Jadav[2] clearly states

> "पुढें फौजा, त्या पुढें तोफखाना, बुणगे पाठीवर समतामें घेऊन निघोन मोगलावर चालोन जाऊन तीन प्रहर पर्यंत झुंज चांगलें च केलें" "बुणगे पाठीवरी घेऊन पुढें तोफखाना देऊन मजबुदी नें चालोन गेले. आपले फौजांनीं बरी शर्थ केली"

So it is clear that Bhau Saheb took with him all the non-combatants on the assurance given by Ibrahim Khan[3] to force a passage through the Afghan ranks. Most of the details given in Bhau Saheb's *Bakhar* and the *Kaifiyat* are borne out by independent evidence and I understand both these as reliable official reports. Both these are wonderfully charming historical compositions.

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[1] Devrao Hingane, the youngest of the Hingane brothers, led the mission to Indore in August 1793. He failed to effect any settlement and returned to Poona in December 1794. The main object of the mission was to restrict the lawless activities of Malhar Rao II. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, III, 214-15.)

[2] Satvoji Jadhav was the son of Pilaji Jadhav. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 439.)

[3] Ibrahim Khan Gardi was Bussy's Indian lieutenant. Later he was employed by the Peshwa. He was an excellent artillery man. He fought valiantly on the side of the Marathas in the Third Battle of Panipat, was captured by the enemy and put to death. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 326, 334, 336, 417, 421, 429, 437, 441, 443 ; Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II, 239, 254, 329, 350.)

Kamshet P. Dt. Poona
13 June 1944.

You have summarily rejected Shivadigvijaya and Shivaji's letter to Maloji Ghorpade.[1] This letter has been fully translated in my Shivaji Souvenir. It is a genuine document and explains lucidly the object of Shivaji's whole undertaking as nothing else does. I should request you to read it carefully over again and tell me why you reject it. It has nothing to do with the faked *firmans* of Mudhol. Similarly Shivadigvijaya throughout quotes genuine original letters that passed between Shivaji and his brother Ekoji. In fact nothing comes up to the level of this *bakhar's* accounts of Shivaji's Karnatak Expedition. It is available as Martin's—if anything, the letter was a stranger and wrote what he observed : while the author of Shivadigvijaya appears to have been one of Shivaji's own inner circle. Of course this *bakhar* has many worthless imaginary portions, but that must not prevent us from accepting what is palpably genuine. We must separate the grain from the chaff. As I have said, I am giving out in my history the Maratha side of the affair—what I should call the Maratha *Kaifiyat*.

P. Kamshet
4.9.1944

Can you also tell me if you know if the German writer Springle's *History of the Marathas* written in 1782 has anywhere been translated and published in English and if so whether the English version is now available. If it is not available, a friend wishes to know if it is worthwhile translating it into English or Marathi now, as a source of Maratha History.

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[1] Maloji Ghorpare was the youngest son of Baji Ghorpare who had arrested Shahji at Jinji. Though his father had been killed by Shivaji, he served Shambhuji with devotion and lost his life while trying to save Shambhuji from being captured by the Mughals. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 152, 161, 232-35, 314)

The Guest House,
Hyderabad,
Deccan,
7 February 1945

I think I am doing some useful work here. There are heaps of Modi papers mostly of the post-Panipat period, very little of Asaf Jah's days. About 200 *Akbarats* are discovered for the period 1774—1782, daily news letters from Poona to Haiderabad often giving some secret information of occurrences at Poona, which we do not find in the existing papers. Competent agents and news-writers were stationed at Poona by the Nizam's Govt. and even linguisitically the mixture of many Persian words and phrases woven in the body of the Marathi language is both striking and charming.

I am arranging to have at least one vol. of these *Akbarats* immediately published. The Executive Council are all very earnest and show high regard for the work and plan I am making for them. All available papers are being brought together and even the private possessions of families like the Rav Rambha of Bhum and the others are being tapped.

P. Kamshet, Dist Poona
9 March 1945

I returned from Haiderabad last week, after having organized a research office and set in motion the required operations in connection with the large quantity of Marathi Modi Records they possess. Some very interesting fresh material is being discovered and the Authorities in their own interest seem to realize their responsibility. A persistent hammering from me is absolutely necessary—the wheels of that administration are slow and indifferent.

P. Kamshet, Poona
9 July 1945.

I have just been writing my English chapter on Mahadji's last days and his doings at Poona. The correct date of Lakheri which you gave in the *Modern Review* has served now to clear most of the letters and papers I quoted in 1929, in my उत्तर विभाग 2 pages 403-405. I had obtained hand copies of these letters myself from the Kotah Daftar and they are still nowhere printed. Possibly you have now in your hand fresh correct copies obtained by the Kumar Saheb. I particularly refer to two letters dated [:]

(1) 10 February 1793 (quoted on 405 डि. वि. 2.) and
(2) 15 May 1793 (quoted on 403 डि. वि. 2).

The battle of Lakheri finally decided the issue on Ist June. Till the issue was declared, Mahadji deliberately wavered in taking a strong action against the Poonaits. Kindly read these two letters carefully and give them their due importance in your *Fall*, last vol. Mahadji was prepared to do short work not only of the Holkar State but also of the whole rotten administration of Poona. The success attained by Mahadji's arms at Lakheri on Ist June so cowed down his Poona opponents that they immediately yielded all their points in favour of Mahadji. Their climb down is worth noticing. It was unfortunate that Mahadji caught his fever at Poona immediately after the victory of Lakheri and he gradually suc[c]umbed. Otherwise Maratha history wd. have been written differently.

When is your *Fall* vol. 4 likely to come out? The mistake in the date has confused all writers, Duff [,] Keene and others and now a strong clear correction is necessary. Nana at once sent Devrao Hingne to Indore on a mission of setting the Holkar House in order. Now these letters of Hingne can be clearly followed. Nana and others did their best to incite Holkar against Sindia and encouraged him to put down the latter. What a suicidal policy! It is these treacherous plans of Nana Phadnis which Mahadji was determined to put down at any cost. It is plain that he instructed De Boigne and Gopalrao[1] to fight out the issue boldly. Marathi writers till now have perverted the issue, maintaining that Mahadji never knew of what was taking place in the north; that Lakheri was fought without his knowledge; that it was a sudden outburst, manouvered by Gopal Bhau and De Boigne; and that Mahadji punished Gopalrao for acting without the master's orders. All this is I find bosh. The Lakheri affair was a long one; that the two armies were facing each other for more than 12 months: that Mahadji instead of chiding his generals, complimented them for their bold stand and attainment of a final decision. For many years therefore, Gopalrao Bhau is seen managing Sindian affairs with responsibility and discretion. Such is the extreme pervertion [*t should be s*] of history at the hands of writers till now. In my इ. वि. २ on Lakheri I took the same view in 1929.

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[1] Gopalrao Bhau, a Deshastha Brahman, was the son of Raghunath Malhar Kulkarni o Nigodi and acted as Mahadji's deputy in Hindustan. He defeated Malhar Rao Holkar at Lakheri in 1793. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, IV, 81-98, 143; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, III, 246-49.)

Kindly let me have a few remarks from you on this topic with your accurate reading of the situation based on unimpeachable sources.

P. Kamshet, Dt. Poona,
14 Septr 1945.

I met Mr. Gode in Poona, who is now doing splendid work. He needs a reference to the earliest import of Persian horses into India. I enclose you a verse in the अमरकोश describing the various kinds of horses Vanayuja, Porooik, Kamboja and Balhiker (Balk). Do you remember having read of the trade of Persian horses in India, before the Arab conquest of Sindh and long before Marco Polo ? If any such reference could be discovered, it will help fixing the date of Amar Singh.

Kamshet P. O. (Poona)
19 Septr. 1945

I have always believed that a major portion of the whole of the Maratha History has been reconstructed by you. If you have not sacrificed money & labour of a life, Maratha history could not have progressed to what it is, in spite of Rajwade and others.

P. Kamshet (Poona)
23 Septr. 1945

If you have an account of the battle of Laswadi of 31 Oct. 1803, from the Kotah Daftar papers I shd. like to see it. Lord Lake won the battle.

Do you know how Nana Phadnis came to have the title Madar-ul-Maham. Was it the Emperor or the Nizam who gave it to him.

P. Kamshet Dt. Poona
15 June 1946

I am anxious that your *Shivaji* should now be the last word on the subject, comprehensive enough to stand as an immortal monument of your scholarship and genius.

P. Kamshet, Dt. Poona
13 Octr. 1946.

The dowager Maharanis of Baroda, Dewas and Kooch Behar are all going to Jaipur some time at the end of November. The Jaipur Raja is the son-in-law of Kooch Behar, of Indira, the daughter of Sayajirao and Chunnabai. The last is in Poona just now and sent for me last week. As during our conversation we talked of Jaipur papers, she suggested that as all the three ladies are going to Jaipur shortly, I should also visit them there, so that they would use their good offices and see that the valuable papers in their archives see the light of day. I am almost inclined to visit Jaipur when they go there. I only wish to have your guidance in this subject. So please let me know what you think of my visit.

P. Kamshet, Dt. Poona.
26. 10. 1946

The Maharani of Baroda has by now gone to Delhi and will invite me there after the middle of Novr. I will trace out your Jaipur scheme and see what I can do.

P. Kamshet, Dt. Poona
4 November 1946.

I am posting you separately copies of my move for the Jaipur papers. The Maharanis have pressed me much to go to them to Delhi and Jaipur. I am waiting for their call. They are now at Delhi. Mr. Mavlankar has also pressed me to meet him at Delhi. I now await Krishnamachari's reply. Will keep you informed.

P. Kamshet, Dist. Poona
6 November 1946

Although out of good intentions, our friend Wakaskar has made a mess of Sardesai Commemoration of Baroda. There was absolutely no need for it : but he thought Dhulia people had stolen a march over Baroda and started begging for contributions in my name, proposing to offer me a purse or institute a scholarship in my name at the Baroda College after my death. Both these ideas are repulsive to me.

* * *

Wakaskar begged to me to accept a silver casket or a silver photo-frame with an address in. I refused to have any such presents. I have no heir, no family to take care of such articles after me. I have already disposed of what I possessed after my wife's death. The library is enough burden for my brothers. I don't wish to add to that burden any further.

P. Kamshet, Dt. Poona
12 Nov. 1946.

Mahant Dattagir writes to me on the subject of the History of the Gosavis. I can realize your agony. But if the people are ready to pay, would it not be possible to entrust the work to men like Ashirbadi Lal or Hari Ram Gupta or N. B. Roy. Such a course will give you relief by handing over your notes to a new young scholar.

P. Kamshet, Dt. Poona
25. 11. 46.

I have received an urgent call from the Maharani of Baroda to go to Delhi & on to Jaipur. I am leaving here tomorrow and after getting copies of the new history from Dhavle and buying a railway passage, shall proceed. I had had no reply from the Diwan of Jaipur. I hope to return within two weeks.

Jaipur House,
c/o Maharani Gaikwad,
New Delhi
3 Dec 1946

I find myself stuck up here with no work. The lady wanted me to accompany her to Jaipur ; but on account of health she has put off her journey. Now she wants me to go to Jaipur alone and arrange the printing. Will you kindly communicate your instructions to Sir V.T.K. or to me to his care, what exactly I am to do there, (1) where are the transcripts of the 1st vol. ref. to Mirza Raja [.] (2) are they at Jaipur, (3) are they arranged for printing and (4) what exactly I can do at Jaipur. I am writing to Sir V. T. to expect your communication. I hope to leave for Jaipur after three days. As the letters are non-Marathi, I am at a loss to de[c]ide how I shd proceed. I am wasting my time and wished to be extricated, with some tangible results after all this huge move on my part.

P. Kamshet, Dt. Poona
22 Jan. 1947

I was shocked to learn that your son-in-law Dr. Sarkar had recently expired. I never knew he was ailing : nor did Dighe mention to me this fresh bereavement in your family. Only two days ago I wrote to you a long letter on several topics and had then no idea that you had again to suffer a heavy blow. I do not know what comfort I can offer you under the circumstances. Dr. Sarkar has a large family probably requiring your attention and support. Your financial resources must now be heavily strained particularly with the present abnormal conditions of life. I get Rs. 237 as my pension : and when I calculated my yearly expenses for 1946 a few days ago, I found I had spent something like Rs 3200, much more than my income : and this for a lonely recluse like me with no burden of a family.

P. Kamshet Dt. Poona
21 March 1947.

I had no idea of such deep feeling existing in Baroda towards my humble self. The young Maharani, who was married several years after I left Baroda and who is now a mother of eight good children, feels her forlorn position and invited me for a personal interview. She showed me her eight children and asked my blessings for them. I was moved tremendously and expressed my inability that any blessing from me could be efficacious. For three long hours she sat in full court in the midst of an audience of over a thousand. To me it was a painful experience sitting there listening to so many orators singing inordinate praises of the *Riyasatkar*. My reply came at the end when I found myself utterly confused and exhausted for any cogent reasoning coming out of me. They collected some 4500 Rs of which they have spent a thousand in a silver casket present which I have brought here. I could not refuse it. The balance of Rs 3500 they are going to hand over on such use as I can make towards further work in history. This I will do in consultation with you.

P. Kamshet Dt. Poona
7 August 1947

I am now revising the last four chapters received from you and thank you for the enormous trouble you have taken. In most cases I follow your directions and in a few ones I wish to refer to Dighe for his final decision. Intrigue was as much a factor for British success in India as valour and diplomacy and incidents of such a nature occupied a large portion of my treatment. However I bow to your superior judgment.

* * *

You are probably aware that I asked from Baroda for a photostat copy of the ms. bearing as was supposed on the life of Shahu शाहू राजकीर्ति प्रथा मंजरी. This is only one small Marathi bit of a larger work in Sanskrit. The whole consists of some 200 pages and I am now occupied in studying it. One first cursory reading is completed and I now go to a fuller study. The author is full of wonderful vocabulary ; but has neither poetic genius nor literary flourishes. He is an orthodox Brahman devoted to sumptuous food and the orthodox ways of life & worship in which all names (पोलिकार पुरिकार , वड्डिकार) of dishes, flowers, of female beauties and amours are mostly in evidence. I am sure of one thing that Parmanand did not die early. He lived in the reign of Sambhaji and has described the death of Shivaji. He curses Moropant Pinghle,[1] Annaji Datto[2] and other ministers of Shivaji ; all these were averse to Sambhaji who probably patronized Parmanand. I have a faint idea of editing the whole work ; but printing in these days is difficult. Any way I will write a paper on the subject.

I entirely agree with your reamrks on the historical value of Parmanand's work. I have also returned today your remarks on Shahji. I also agree with your view of that personality and have sent you a few notes. Shivaji received his best training from his father and outshone him by establishing complete independence.

P. Kamshet, Dt. Poona
29 August 1947.

I think you are right in taking Balaji, Daulatrao, and Yesaji (same as Yashvant) Surrao as three successive Chandra Raos. The same document (No. 2620 of Pat. Sar Sangr. pt 3) is extensively printed on p. 225—No. 639 of Shiva Charitra Sahitya Pt. 3. Please see the three top lines of p 230. Incidently you can note Anaji Raugnath (Malkare) witnessing the document on p 226. I have also referred the point of the Mores to Gupte and read it and effected the necessary changes in the chapters of my history. I thank you.

I heartily welcome yr. superior judgment and in point of scholarship I know I cannot claim even to be a glow worm before the sun. But I do wish to point out that in many cases older writers like Mill and Marshman are more realistic than the later whitewashers. Has not Stratchey absolved

---

[1] Moropant Pingle was made the Peshwa or Prime Minister by Shivaji about 1658. He was high in Shivaji's confidence and died during Shambhuji's reign in October 1681. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 113, 294.)

[2] Annaji Datto was the finance minister under Shivaji and also served as the governor of Konkan. Shivaji had the highest opinion of his success as a governor. He was put to death by Shambhuji for plotting against his life. (Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, I, 118, 128, 215, 220, 250, 255, 293, 299 ; Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 240, 284, 311, 330, 347, 357 ; *Short History of Aurangzib*, 275 ; *History of Aurangzib*, IV, 468.)

Hastings from the charges levelled against him in the affair of Nandkumar? P. E. Roberts is fair and sound but unnecessarily apologetic.

P. Kamshet, Dt. Poona
1 January 1948.

Can you think of a successor to Jayachandra, Hari Ram Gupta, Ashirbadi Lal or N. K. Sinha or some one else : do you advise Nirod Roy to take this up. The man should be pushing enough and capable of exacting work from others. This is what Shastri wants. Please write to him what you wd. propose to improve matters and let me know. I think if your own nominee working under your direct supervision is entrusted with the Secretary's work, the Parishad would come out splendidly. Babu Rajendra Prasad is keen & will bring in funds as soon as some work becomes visible. I beg you to bestow your best thoughts on the subject.

P. Kamshet, Dt. Poona
6 March 1948.

I have just finished reading the 144 pages of your *House of Shivaji* new ed. There is a lot of new valuable matter put in and the whole subject is now well arranged in several respects. Malik Ambar and Shahji (p 64-70) are entirely reconstructed, so that all students of that hazy period of history will be well guided for further study and research. An enormous amount of new matter with definite sources which you have brought together will earn you a lasting credit for reconstructing the 16th & 17th centuries of the history of South India. This clearly proves that but for your labours the history of the Marathas would have for ever remained poor & incomplete. One can easily see that more than 90% of Maratha history is the result of your singular untiring labours of half a century. Your eye freely roams over the dark regions from Akbar to Shah Alam [,] from Talikot to Assai.

P, Kamshet, Dt. Poona
18. 6. 1948.

Your company here for two months was so charming that I now feel my present loneliness all the more oppressive.

P. Kamshet, Dt. Poona
14 March 1949.

That means that we are now committed to editing the available portions of Parmanant[d]'s works. The Poona School has been baffled after a severe effort, as also in the case of their much advertised History project sponsored by the History Congress.

I would therefore request you to make this Parmanand poems your first concern immediately you arrive here. I would urge a supreme effort being concentrated on this important find of Shivaji's life including your learned investigations on the tantric cult in India. If you think we can derive any useful glimpses in a personal visit to Shringarpur, I can easily arrange such a tour in which Mr. Mavlankar will also join as he is to visit his family shrine at Mavlanga, in the same vicinity. We can have an interesting outing in May. I have some friends in Poona who are much interested in the publication of Parmanand's poems and you can publish your own finds and views which you could not incorporate in your 4th edition of *Shivaji*.

P. Kamshet Dt. Poona
23 June 1949

I wonder why you style Jaipur History as the private property of the State, which no longer exists. It is a literary work of public benefit and your labours ought not to be wasted. In fact the Jaipur authorities are afraid that they have no hold on you if you publish the work on your account. Any way do bring the ms with you and we shall see what best can be done.

P. Kamshet Dist Poona,
12 Octr 1949.

Having finished the revision of the last volume of my *Riyasat*, I have taken up the Gulgule papers for editing. The whole lot is now with me. I am simultaneously drafting the English foot-notes for which most of the papers have a blank space at bottom. I will add a separate slip where such space is not available.

P. Kamshet Dt. Poona
27 Novr. 1949

I am working on the Kotah papers and would certainly set apart matter for your immediate use. But I am afraid until I finish the whole lot I may not be able to pick up what you need.

P. Kamshet, Dt. Poona
13 Jan 1950.

I am keeping well & pushing on the work of the Kotah papers. Although no fresh facts are being discovered, many rich details and discussions are freely detected in this Daftar. I have so far edited about 2000 papers or something like one third of the whole. I have edited a few of the papers bearing on the war of 1803 but I don't suppose they will give you any fresh matter or view. The debacle of the Maratha chiefs before Wellesley's consummate handling is evident throughout. Most of Lalaji Ballal Gulgule's correspondents are Saraswats—Balaji Govind, Mahadji's secretary, Jagannath Vishvanath and his two sons Vithal & Sadashiv are Saraswats and their letters are full. The Chitnis family, Abaji,[1] Krishnoba[2] & Gopalrao Bhau are Deccani Brahman [s]. The writers of Holkar letters in Purandare Daftar II are all Deccani Brahmans. I have so far come across no name of Holkar's writers, who are other than Brahmans.

P. Kamshet, Dt. Poona,
5 Apr 1950.

Kotah papers give full accounts of the southern operations Asai, Ashirgad[3] [,] Argaum &c but nothing of Laswan[ri.] The daftar contains letters recd. at Kotah and hardly any that were sent out from Kotah. I am sure Ambaji Ingle did not lead Sindian troops at Laswari as he had practically deserted to Lake during those months of war, and concluded the final treaty with Lake in Dec 1803. There is no other leader of the name of Ambaji or Abaji on Maratha side at that time. The name of the Phadnis who served Daulatrao is Sadashiv Bapuji who died on 20 Apr

---

[1] Aba Chitnis, a Deshastha Brahman, was the son of Raghunath Malhar Kulkarni of Nigodi. He managed the finances of Mahadji Sindhia and was an excellent administrator. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, IV, 143.)

[2] Krishnoba Chitnis was the brother of Aba Chitnis. He served Mahadji as a secretary, and control of finances was the special feature of his administrative capacity. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, IV, 143.)

[3] *Ashirgarh*, according to Farishta belonged to a herdsman Asa Ahir whose ancestors had held it for seven centuries. Asa fortified it in 1370. The Farrukhi rulers of Khandesh possessed it for 200 years when it was occupied by Emperor Akbar. After a period of nearly 200 years it was captured by the Marathas. The British seized it in 1819. The fort of Ashirgarh stood on the spur of a hill. It was 1100 yards long and 600 yards wide. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, I, 338-9.)

1804. Between 20 Oct and 1 Nov, 1803 Ambaji was negotiating his desertion. I regret I cannot elucidate the name Ambaji.

Kamshet
12.4.1950

I have hunted through the Gwalior Jagirdar history but find no clue to Sarwarkhan.

P. Kamshet, Dt. Poona
8 May 1950.

One more fact can be added to your article on Parmananda Kavindra in the *House of Shivaji*. If you read the letter No. 16 of *P. D. S.* vol. 43, you will notice that Govind Kavindra put an end to his life as a sanyasi at Mahuli near Satara about 23rd March 1782. He lost all patronage after Shahu's death and had none to support him in Peshwa's Govt. at Poona. The orthodox party obtained ascendancy and killed the last vestiges of the tantric cult. Govind says he has no issue and the family became extinct. They drew an annuity of Rs 300 at Newasa[1].

P. Kamshet,
28 Dec 1950.

I am keeping well in health but entirely restless for want of some urgent task in hand. I find Bhattacharya of Baroda has made no progress in the printing of the Parmanand poem beyond the first form I corrected some two months ago. Can you kindly suggest to me some useful job which I can profitably take up. I cannot proceed without guidance from you.

Garden View Parsi Colony,
Dadar Bombay 14
20 June 1951

I very much deplore the waste of the life I have now to put up with.

---

[1] Newasa is a town in the Ahmadnagar District of Bombay, and 35 miles north-east of the Ahmadnagar town. Gyaneshwara, the great Maratha poet, wrote his commentary on the Bhagvad Gita at Newasa which he named as Niwas. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, X, 292.)

Kamshet
17 July 1952.

I send you my draft on Shivaji's early life. Kindly see if you can make anything of it.

Kamshet
23 July 1952.

Herewith please find my paper on Sayaji Rao as suggested by you. It has grown a bit too long. I have consequently omitted the Madam Cama[1] incident. Can the subject be presented in two instalments ? I feel very different if such stuff can be welcome to readers of the present day.

---

[1] Born in 1875, Madam Cama hailed from a Parsi family of Bombay. She left for Europe in 1902 and spent there the whole of her life preaching for India's freedom.

Corrigenda

Title page, line 6, for 'of Bombay and of Bengal,' read *of Bombay and Honorary Fellow of Asiatic Society of Bombay and ... ...*

P. viii, l. 35, for 'on Mughal' read *on the Mughal.*

P. ix, l. 3, insert *the* before 'contributors'.

P. 4, l. 35, insert *the* before 'Miskin'.

P. 8, l. 23, for 'return you' read *return your.*

P. 12, l. 4, for 'Board' read *Branch.*

P. 12, l. 6, for '1926' read *1936.*

P. 13, l. 2, for 'him in guiding' read *in guiding him.*

P. 15, l. 9, for 'eight' read ८½.

P. 15, l. 21, insert *the* before 'Sarkar-Sardesai'.

P. 18, l. 20, insert *the* before 'Riyasat'.

P. 20, l. 11, for 'hardships' read *hardship.*

P. 21, l. 22, for 'were' read *was.*

P. 22, l. 32 for 'Gwalior' read *Satara.*

P. 23, l. 37, for 'bringing out' read *bringing.*

P. 27, l. 23, insert *the* before 'Scholarship'.

P. 28, l. 33, insert *the* before 'firm'.

P. 34, l. 10, for 'the uppermost' read *then uppermost.*

P. 43, l. 4, for 'Cambridge History' read *Cambridge Modern History.*

P. 44, l. 16, for 'the foreman' read *a member.*

P. 53, l. 2, for 'our' read *four.*

P. 54, l. 24, for 'Jadunath' read *J. C. Bose.*

P. 69, l. 6, for '1939' read *1938.*

P. 71, l. 17, for 'as as' read *as the.*

P. 82, l. 1, for 'poits' read *points.*

P. 111, add at the bottom of the page, *and many other papers.*

P. 115, l. 6, for 'unpublished essays' read *essays unpublished.*

P. 142, l. 12, insert *the* before 'Dasahra'.

P. 150, l. 12, for 'Or, its' read *Or, is it.*

P. 161, l. 4, for 'you' read *your.*

P. 165, l. 24, for 'Matathi' read *Marathi.*

P. 211, l. 32, for 'that more' read *more.*

P. 215, l. 18, for 'tne' read *the.*

P. 218, l. 1, omit *rather.*

P. 225, l. 12, for 'Ragistrar' read *Registrar.*

P. 232, l. 20, for 'not' read *nor.*

P. 237, l. 3, for '252' read 255.

P. 237, omit at bottom *"Where is Peshawar ... garrison?"* (given twice)

P. 239, l. 15, for 'have an' read *have a.*

P. 242, l. 22, for 'longer field' read *larger field.*

P. 246, l. 15, for 'distinctly says' read *distinctly say.*

P. 246, l. 23, for 'wrong' read *the wrong.*

P. 250, l. 34, add *comma after* Collins.

P. 253, l. 29, for 'hear' read *hear of.*

P. 257, l. 14, after 'confined' add *but.*

P. 259, l. 7, after 'Surya Rao' add *crowned?*

P. 276, l. 17, for '1 12' read 1712.

P. 278. l. 22, for 'look' read *looked.*

P. 280, l. 22, for 'in literary' read *to literary.*

P. 281, l. 1, after 'family' insert *that can compare.*

P. 290, l. 7, for 'Jamar' read *Jamav.*

P. 342, l. 16, for 'as far' read *so far.*

P. 344 for दरबारांतली read दरबारांतील.

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